

THE
PRÁKRITA-LAKSHANAM

OR

CHANDA'S GRAMMAR

OF THE

ANCIENT (ÁRSHA) PRÁKRIT

EDITED BY

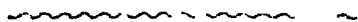
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Part I.

TEXT WITH A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION AND INDEXES.



CALCUTTA

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TO

SIR WILLIAM MUIR, K. C. S. I.

ETO, ETO

*WHO HAS DONE SO MUCH FOR THE
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES
OF INDIA*

THIS WORK

IS DEDICATED

AS A TOKEN OF SINCERE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE.

PREFACE.



In the Introductory remarks, I shall fully explain the reasons of the arrangement observed in the following edition. In the main portion of it, I have adopted the text of the MSS A and B, giving as a rule, in case of a difference, the preference to the reading of A. All the additional matter in the text of the MSS C and D, as well as what is peculiar to any one or several MSS, has been distributed in the Appendices. This arrangement, I am aware, has its drawbacks, but on the whole I have thought it the best possible in the peculiar circumstances of the case.

The footnotes immediately under the text contain extracts from the marginal gloss of MS C, as also the few marginal remarks that occur in MS B. Below these again are given, at the foot of each page, the various readings of the four MSS. Undoubted clerical errors have been omitted. With the exception of these, every difference has been noted, in doubtful cases, I have even admitted what to me seemed a mere clerical error. Considering the important character of Chanda's work and the state of the materials at my command, it seemed to me particularly desirable to place the reader in possession of the fullest information to form his own judgment on points that may be disputable.

The two indexes of sutras and Prákrit words which have been added to this edition need no defence or explanation. The value of these aids has been long since recognized.

The whole work is contemplated to consist of two parts. The second part, containing an English translation and annotations, is nearly ready for the press and will shortly appear.

There only remains to me the pleasing duty of acknowledging the kindness of Dr. Rajendra Lál Mitra Rai Bahádúr and Pandit Ráma Mítra Sístí in so readily placing at my service their MSS of Chanda's Grammar, and the liberality of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in providing the necessary funds for the publication of this work.

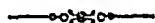
A F R-H

Calcutta, October 1880

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	i
Sketch of Chanda's Grammar	xxiv
Analysis of the Sūtras on Nominal Declension	lv
On the change of dental <i>n</i> to cerebral <i>n</i>	lx
On the treatment of single medial consonants	lxiii
TEXT	1
Appendix A	३४
Appendix B	३५
Appendix C	३६
Appendix D	३७
Appendix B C	३८
Appendix C D	३८
Appendix B C D	५२
INDEX	
Sūtras	५५
Piākhīt Words	६२
CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA	७४

INTRODUCTION.



The Prākṛit Grammar the text of which is given in the following pages professes to be the work of Chanda. About his person and the time when he lived nothing, so far as I am aware, is known beyond what can be gathered from the work itself. From the mention of Vīra or Mahāvīra, the great apostle of the Jain religion, in the introductory verse, and from the fact that the Grammar treats of an ancient form of what is now commonly called the Jaina Prākṛit, it may perhaps be permissible to conclude that he belonged to the Jain community.* That he must have lived in very early times, probably not later than the beginning of our era, would appear from the archaic character of the language which he describes, assuming, of course, that he was contemporary with that language.

The Grammar bears the name of Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇa. It is a curious circumstance, that a grammar, bearing the same name, is ascribed by two old writers, Kedaṛa Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri, to Pāṇini, the famous Sanskrit Grammarian. The remark of the former, as quoted by d'Alwis in his Introduction to Kachchayana's Grammar (p. xxv), is the following *pāṇinibhagavān prākṛitalakṣhaṇam apī vakti saṁskṛitād anyat*, "*āgrhāḥṣhaṇam cha kutrachid ekam mātrām upaiti*" *iti*, i. e., "the blessed Pāṇini also enunciates a Prākṛit rule, different from Sanskrit, viz., that a long vowel becomes short"†. Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra II, 3. The passage, however, does not necessarily imply that Pāṇini was the author of a Prākṛit grammar of that name. The language of Malayagiri, as quoted by Weber, in his *Indische Studien*, vol. X, p. 277, and *Indische Streifen*, vol. II, p. 325, is much more explicit. It occurs in his commentary to the well-known Jaina work, the Sūryaprajñāpti,

* It is not impossible, however, that the introductory verse is to be ascribed to the Revisionists, to whom most of the other Jaina indications are due, e. g., the invocation of the Siddhas at the beginning of the work, and the same in sūtra I, 6. The mere fact of Chanda treating of an old form of Prākṛit, which was afterwards modified by the Jains, does not necessarily prove any connection of Chanda with the latter.

† See also Pischel *Dissertatio inauguralis*, p. 4. According to Weber, *Indische Streifen* II, p. 325, there appears to be some doubt as to the authenticity of the quotation.

and is as follows "*chattari*" *iti cha sūtre napuṃsakatvanuṃdesah prākṛita-tvāt, prākṛite hi lingam vyabhichāri, yad āha pāṇiniḥ svaprākṛitalakshane, "lingam vyabhichāry api"* *iti, 2 c*, "as to the form '*chattāri*' occurring in the sūtra, the use of the neuter is accountable by its being Prākṛit, for in Prākṛit the gender is changeable, as Pāṇini has said in his (work called) Prākṛitalakshana 'the gender is changeable also'" Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra I, 4 If our Prākṛitalakshana is the work referred to by those two writers, neither of their references are strictly quotations The passage of Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, indeed, I do not think, exactly professes to give a quotation, but rather a paraphrase of the rule which was in his mind Malayagiri's language certainly seems to imply that he quotes a rule Among all Prākṛit grammars, known at present, there is none which contains such a rule The nearest approach to it is the rule in Hemachandra IV, 445 and Tivikīama III, 4, 69, *lingam atantṛam*, with its commentary *apabhraṃse lingam atantṛam vyabhichāri prāyo bhavati* It seems very probable, that Malayagiri misquotes Hemachandra's rule and somehow or other confuses the Prākṛita-Lakshana with Hemachandra's work It may be observed, that to quote the exact rule of the Prākṛitalakshana, *ḥvaichid vyatyayaḥ*, would hardly have suited him, as without an explanation it would not have been intelligible, whereas Hemachandra's rule is so A confusion of Chanda's and Hemachandra's works will perhaps not appear so unnatural, when it is remembered (as I shall show in the sequel), that in all probability Chanda's work was, as it were, the frame round which Hemachandra built up his own work It should also be noted, that while Hemachandra's rule is limited to the Apabhraṃsa, Malayagiri understands his rule to apply to Prākṛit generally Now Chanda's rule *does* apply to Prākṛit generally* The fact, that both Kedāra Bhaṭṭa and Malayagiri ascribe the Prākṛita-Lakshana to Pāṇini, is, of course, of no weight It merely shows that they had only a traditional acquaintance with the work Still its traditional ascription to Pāṇini is in so far important, as it shows that the grammar was considered to be ancient and authoritative This character well agrees with Chanda's Prākṛitalakshana There is another curious circumstance in Malayagiri's Commentary, which I may mention here, as it seems to bear on the question under notice Weber (in his *Indische Studien*, vol X, p 273) quotes another remark of that writer *bahurachanam prākṛitavād, uktam cha "bahurayane (ṣṇanena?) durayanam"* *iti, 2 c*, " (the use of) the plural is (accountable) by Prākṛit usage, for it is said that 'the dual (is to be expressed) by the plural'" Compare with this Chanda's rule in sūtra II, 12, with its commentary* But the curious fact is that in the marginal

* Hemachandra has a similar rule in III, 130, but his grammatical terminology is different (*durachanasya bahurachanam*) and seems to have been taken from Vararuchi VI, 63

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
उ	कु	ए	तु	ड	स	हु	ज
o	ku	nu	tu	du	su	hu	jh

9	10	11	12	13	14	15
क	ख	रक	रु	ख	स	ज
J	d	hkh	hh	hkh	hkh	ag

16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
ग	च	ट	ख	ज	ज	स	श
gn	chchh	tt	sh	J	J	jh	jh

24	25	26	27	28	29	30
श	श	श	ज	ज	म	म
jh	jh	jh	jh	jh	jh	jh

31	32	33	34	35
म	म	म	म	म
jh	jh	jh	jh	jh

36	37	38	39	40	41
म	प	ब	प	म	म
jh	pbh	bbh	bbh	hbbh or mbh	bbh or mbh

gloss of MS C, specimens of which are appended to the text in this edition, that sūtra of Chanda is always quoted in nearly the same Prākṛit transliteration as in Malayāgiri, though all other sūtras are cited by the gloss in their Sanskrit form. See, e.g., the footnote to *sakṣiśūnā* in II, 1, and the footnote to *dīptam* in II, 12. I suppose it can hardly be doubtful, but that the writer of the marginal gloss really meant Chanda's sūtra by his Prākṛit quotation, and if so, the same Prākṛit quotation in Malayāgiri must refer to the same sūtra (of Chanda). Perhaps the fact shows that Chanda's Grammar was originally written in Prākṛit, and in later times translated into Sanskrit, as it has happened to so many other Jaina Prākṛit works, but that a few of his sūtras traditionally maintained themselves in their old Prākṛit form, and were preferentially quoted in that form. Still after all has been said, the evidence remains of a very slender kind. Perhaps all that can be safely asserted is, that it is not impossible, that those two writers were speaking of Chanda's Prākṛita Lakṣaṇa.

In preparing the following edition I have had the assistance of four MSS which I have distinguished as A, B, C and D respectively.

MSS A and B are the property of Dr Rājendralāla Mitra of Calcutta, who very kindly placed them at my service. They are mentioned by Dr Mitra on p. xiv, of the Appendix to Vol III, Part II, No IX, of his *Notices of Sanskrit MSS* (Calcutta, 1875). They were by him supposed to be only one MS, but on coming into my hands, I was very agreeably surprised to discover that they really were two distinct and (as a glance at the various lectiones and appendices will at once show) independent MSS of the same work. Both are quite modern copies (bearing date 1875, Samvat 1931). Of the originals, I regret, I have not been able to obtain a sight. Dr Mitra informs me that they were in the possession of a Pandit in Lucknow, who has since died, but that he has not seen them himself. It would have been of great importance to have been able to consult the originals. The copies are clearly written, but they abound in errors. Some of these are mere clerical errors which offer no difficulty; others again appear to be merely the peculiarities of Jain orthography, somewhat exaggerated by being translated into the ordinary Nāgari characters of the North West Provinces. I shall explain these peculiarities further on. Both MSS A and B are complete, written on paper and consisting of nine small oblong leaves, with nine lines to the page.

MS C is a very excellent MS, beautifully, carefully and almost faultlessly written. It is on paper and consists of thirteen leaves, with nine lines to the page. It was lent to me by my friend, Pandit Rāma Misra Sāstrī, Assistant Professor of Philosophy in the Sanskrit College at Benares. It belongs to one of his students, a Jain by religion, and a native of Kodāyā in Kachchh (W India). It was copied by the latter for his own use, which accounts for its

excellent execution It is said to have been copied from a very old MS, 400 years old, with how much of truth, I am unable to say, my efforts to obtain it being baffled by the usual plea of its owner having died The MS is complete, and has the peculiarity of being supplied with a very copious marginal gloss, written in very close lines and extremely small letters on the margin and, here and there, between the lines of the text This gloss, however, only extends as far as the 27th sūtra of the IInd chapter Whether this is owing to the original MS having had no more of it, or the student, who copied it, failing to complete his transcript, does not appear* The marginal gloss is chiefly of use inasmuch as it supplies Sanskrit translations of all Prākṛit examples and quotations, it also well illustrates the manner of the native grammarians in applying grammatical rules to the explanations of word-forms For these reasons I have added a few extracts from it in the footnotes, appended to the text and preceding the critical apparatus The MS C bears no date, but, of course, it must be of quite modern origin

MS D belongs to myself It was given to me by my friend Pandit Rāma Misra, the same gentleman who procured for me MS C It is a very fair MS, though not so good as C It is clearly and carefully written, but it is not without mistakes, which, however, being obvious clerical errors,† are of no account and, therefore, have generally not been noticed in the critical footnotes It is on paper and consists of nineteen leaves, with six lines to every page It is a quite modern copy, of 1876, which Pandit Rāma Misra caused to be prepared for me from an old MS in the possession of a Pandit, resident in some village in the State of Alwar This original MS also I have been unable to procure, on account of the death in the meantime of its owner!

The orthography of all the four MSS exhibits the peculiarities of what has been called the Jaina Prākṛit‡ MS C is written in the Jaina

* The very curious error, noted on p 13 (निदृष्टि) made me at first inclined to look upon the gloss as a mere modern addition, possibly made by the student himself But the fact, that one of its remarks with reference to sūtra I, 13 occurs as part of the text in MS D, renders this improbable In any case, the author of it cannot have been a very learned pandit, though for that matter, the author of the text itself, as contained in C, does not show very favourably See, e g, the clumsy way in which sūtra CD I, 6a is drawn

† Thus गुरुण for गुरुण, गिरिण for गिरौण, I, 5, Sanskrit जेषा for जेषा in I, 3, etc

‡ They rather seem to be the peculiarities of the Western Indian style of writing generally I have noticed them in other than Jain writings, e g, in the MSS of the Prithiraja Rasau Most Jaina writings are from Western India On Jaina Prākṛit orthography, see Weber *Bhagavati*, pp 383-392, E Muller, *Beitrage zur Grammatik des Jaina Prākṛit*, pp 11, 29, 30, Jacobi, *Kaṭpa Sūtra*, pp 17 21, Klatt, *Dhaṇapala's Rishabha*

Prākṛit style, MS. D also, but not so uniformly MSS A and B are written in the ordinary Nāgarī of Eastern Hindūstān, but they show unmistakable traces of having been copied from originals written in the Jaina or western style. These orthographic peculiarities (see Plate) may be divided into two classes, graphic and phonetic. To the former belong

1 The symbol No 1 (in the Plate) for *o*. In MS C this is always carefully distinguished from *u*. MS D in a few cases confuses them*. But in A and B they are not only perpetually confused, but sometimes even *u* (*ū*) or *u* (*u*) is written, thus showing that the copyists had no notion of the meaning of that Jaina symbol.

2. In MS C *u* in conjunction with certain consonants has a peculiar shape. See Nos 2—7.

3 The two symbols Nos 8 or 9 for *ḡh* and No 10 for *d* are always carefully distinguished in C, but are much confounded in D. The ordinary Nāgarī symbol *d*, however, is also occasionally used in D, in C it is the usual one.

4 The substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*, so common in modern writing, never occurs in C and D. In B it is found once, viz, III, 15 *ṣṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣṣ*. On the other hand, MS A has once the very unusual substitute *ṣ* for *ṣ*, viz III, 14 *ṣṣṣṣṣ* for *ṣṣṣṣṣ*.

5 The use of the symbols *ṣ* *b* and *ṣ* *v* is very uncertain. Thus C has in juxtaposition *besum* and *vesu* (I, 3), *behim* and *vehu* (I, 1), *bahū* (I, 3) and *vahū* (I, 9). MS D has *ibū* and *rivum* (I, 3), *gāṭ* and *gābī* (II, 16), &c. On the whole C follows the Sanskrit use, while D prefers *v*. MSS A and B are no less uncertain, thus A has *vuddhī* and *buddhū* (I, 10), *gāṭ* and *gāvihū* (II, 16), B has *behinto* (I, 13), and *vehim* (I, 7), &c. On the whole B prefers *v*†. As it was necessary to observe some system, I have followed MS C in being guided by Sanskrit usage.

6 There is also much uncertainty in the use of the symbols *ṣ* *s* and *ṣ* *ṣ*, though more so in A and B, than C and D. In C the confusion occurs rarely, *e g*, *sīṣṣṣ* (I, 30), and commonly Sanskrit *sūra*. In D it is much more frequent, *e g*, *sasī* for *sasī* (I, 22), *smasunam* for *smasunam*, *sīṣṣṣ* for *sīṣṣṣ*, &c. In A and B it is very common, thus in A and B, *sese*, *hamse* *pasuta* for *sese*, *hamse*, *pasutta*, (IV, 39), in A *tīsanham* for *tīsanham* (I, 6). The substitution of *s* for *ṣ* is much more common than the reverse.

7 The symbols Nos 11 or 12 for *ḡḡḡ* often occur in D. In A and B

Panchāṅkā in J. G. O. S., vol XXXIII, pp 447, 448, also Stevenson, *Kalpa Sutra*, pp 137-143.

* Once D writes *o* for *o*.

† Curiously enough, when B has *b*, it uses it wrongly in Sanskrit words, *e. g.*, *bayam* for *vayam* (I, 3), *beti him* (III 7), *barga* (III, 17), *baṇa* (III, 25).

these symbols are Nos 13 and 14 * C always has the usual Nāgarī symbol क्क, which also occurs twice in A. In a few cases A B D write simply क, C never

8 The symbol ग्ग for *gg* is very common in the marginal gloss, though not in the text, of C. Once or twice it occurs in D. Otherwise the ordinary Nāgarī form ग्ग is used. In the originals of A and B, however, it must have been almost universal. The copyists evidently did not know it, for they commonly write it as ग्ग *gn* or ग्ग *gj*, see Nos 15 and 16. Only once does A give the correct transcription ग्ग, in *aggissa* (I, 13).

9 The symbols, No 17 for *chchh* and No 18 for *tth*, are generally distinguished in C, there are only two exceptions, viz., *echchhu* for *etthu* (I, 11) and *pattham* for *pachchham* (III, 26). D uses the ordinary Nāgarī symbol च्च for both *chchh* and *tth*, thus *pachchham* = Skt. *pathyam* and *pachchho* for *pattho* = Skt. *pāṭhah* in III, 26. A and B transcribe them correctly by the ordinary Nāgarī च्च *chchh* and त्थ *tth*, though the commonly write merely च *chh* in the place of च्च *chchh*. On the other hand C and D commonly write No 17 and च्च respectively in the place of च *chh*.

10 The symbol of ज्ज is No 20 or 21, correctly transcribed in A and B by ज्ज.

11 The symbols Nos 22—26 or Nos 27 and 28 for *jjh* are used in C and D. The copyists of A and B, not understanding the former, variously transcribe it by Nos 29—36.

12 The symbol ज्ज for *jjh* is commonly used by A, B, D, rarely ट or ट्. C has always ट. Similarly the symbols ट् or ट् for *ddh* are commonly used by all four MSS. I may here add the general remark, that conjuncts consisting of the unaspirate and aspirate of the same class, are treated with great laxity, as regards writing them, though, doubtlessly, they were always pronounced correctly (according to the rules Ch III, 26 Vr III, 51 II C II 90). Thus hard aspirate conjuncts might be written in three ways either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its unaspirate. A sonant aspirate conjunct might even be written in four ways either the aspirate alone, or the aspirate doubled, or the aspirate preceded by the hard unaspirate, or (the correct form) the aspirate preceded by its sonant unaspirate. Examples of nearly each of these varieties may be found in the four MSS of Chanda. I have met with every one of them in the MSS of the Prithiraj Rāsau. Thus the symbol No 37 is strictly *pbh*, while Nos 38 or 39 are *bhh*. Similarly Nos 13 and 14 (in the Prithiraj र्च) are strictly *llhh*, while Nos 11 and 12 are *llh*.

13 The symbols ढ, ढ, ढ, ढ, are often confounded in A and B, showing that the copyists were imperfectly acquainted with the orthography of the

* The former are to be seen in Weber's *Bhagarati*, Plate I, lines 6 and 8 (*duḥkhanam*). The latter were in MS W of the *Prakṛita Prakāśa*, as noted by Cowell, p 90, (sutra 20).

originals It may be observed that, as a rule, च *dh* is a mistake for च *cheh* and घ *gh* for व *vv*, thus the former occurs in A सधिय (II, 17) for सच्चिय, B साघ (III, 9) for साच, the latter in B पघंतः (III, 9) for पव्वंतः The occasional use of व or घ for च is peculiar to D, *e g*, कव for कच (III, 2), पुव्वो for पुचो (C D III, 15a)

14 The symbol No 39 is used by C for *bbh* and *mbh* MS D has No 38, and A B have Nos 29, 40 and 41

15 The mis-spelled symbol ह *hm* occurs very frequently in B and D In A it is very rare, in C it never occurs.

16 The symbol स- or सु is very commonly written in A and B, in the place of an anusvāra, at the end of a phrase or sentence (see footnote to I, 1), never in C and D In A the class nasal is not unfrequently written instead of the usual anusvāra, in conjuncts, *e g*, *lingañcha* (I, 2), *hñcha* (I, 17), *tumandevo* (I, 19), *hñte* (I, 23), *jalandi* (I, 12), *vambhanā* (II, 12), &c

The phonetic peculiarities of the Jain Prakrit observable in the MSS. are two

1. The presence of the dental न *n* In MSS A and B, न, whether single or conjunct, is always used when standing at the beginning of a word, and almost always when in the middle of a word In MSS C and D, न is every where changed to ण, in accordance with the commoner Prakrit usage (see Vr. II, 42) This is rather a strange circumstance, seeing that the two MSS C and D otherwise exhibit, in many ways, a more distinctly Jain character than A and B, compare, *e g*, their introductory salutation, and their additions in sūtra I, 5 *

2 The so-called *ya-sruti*, *i e*, the insertion of an euphonic य *y* between two vowels, the latter of which must be *a*, while the preceding may be any one This rule, however, is not uniformly observed in the MSS *

The text presented in these four MSS differs very greatly. The most obvious difference is in extent, as will be seen at once from the relative size of the MSS and from the list of sūtras appended to this edition The MSS may be divided into two classes The text of A and B is substantially the same, so is that of C and D, but while the former MSS contain 99 sūtras divided into three chapters, the latter extend to 126 and 128 sūtras distributed into four chapters The owner of A and B, who however had not examined his MSS, expressed a suspicion that they were fragmentary† On first receiving them, I was myself inclined to think, that they contained a mutilated text. But further examination soon showed me, not only that A and B contained a complete, but that, in fact, they contained an older and a more original

* For a possible reason of this circumstance, see below p cxiv

† See Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, November 1878.

text than C and D, that of the latter two MSS being a much later, rearranged and enlarged, recension of the text of A and B. I shall here describe some of the most striking points of evidence others will be noticed in the foot-notes to the English translation.

In the first place, as to the originality of the text of A and B. The order of the Sūtras I, 19, 20, 21 in A and B is consistent, while their order I, 19, 21, 20 in C and D is inconsistent and necessitates an unusual interpretation of the term *cha* "also" in sūtra I, 20. The word *cha* "also", used as a grammatical technical term, has a well-known and well-defined meaning. It always refers to the preceding rule and implies that what is mentioned there is *also* applicable to the rule in which *cha* occurs. Thus in MS A and B, sūtra I, 19 तुम चै चविमत्तौ is followed by I, 20 अमि तुम च. The term च in the latter indicates, that the form तुम mentioned in the former is *also* to be understood in the latter. The Revisionists, however, in order to dispose of all sūtras referring to the nominative case before those relating to the accusative, change the order of the sūtras, placing them thus I, 19 तुम चै चविमत्तौ, I, 21 तुम्हे जसि, I, 20 अमि तुम च. But when the sūtras are thus placed, the term च would imply that तुम्हे of the preceding sūtra is also to be understood in the last sūtra. As this result would be manifestly wrong, the Revisionists actually insert into the last sūtra the forms, which ought to be indicated by च as *understood*, and, therefore, alter the sūtra to अमि तुम तुम न च (see App C D, p 41), so that here च does not refer to a preceding sūtra but to a part of the sūtra itself in which it occurs! There could hardly be a clearer piece of evidence as to which of the two texts is the original.

Again the omission of the sūtra III, 10 in C and D disturbs the originally consistent plan on which the third chapter is drawn in A and B, and consequently necessitates in C and D a very inconsistent use of the sibilant स in the sūtras of that chapter. According to the plan of A and B in that chapter, Sanskrit conjunct consonants are treated of in the first nine sūtras (III, 1—9), the remaining sūtras (III, 11—39) are devoted to the treatment of single consonants, the intermediate sūtra (III, 10) is intended to indicate this division*. In the first part (III, 1—9), all conjuncts are reduced to single consonants, by eliding, in some way or other, all consonants of the conjunct save one. Having thus simplified the problem, so as to have none but single consonants (whether original or resultant) to deal with, Chanda next proceeds in the second part (III, 11—39) to enumerate the manifold changes

* No other division of the consonants, so far as these sūtras are concerned, is recognised, it makes no difference, whether the conjunct or single consonant is medial or initial, or whether the single consonant is one which was originally single or has only become so as the result of the simplification of a conjunct consonant.

that the single consonants (no matter, whether original or resultant) may undergo. Now in the second part Chanda rules that every *single* श् *s* or य *sh* changes to च *s* in Prākṛit (III, 18), so that as regards *single* consonants, च *s* represents the whole sibilant class. Hence whenever else, in the second part, Chanda has to speak of the sibilant class, he simply indicates it by the use of च *s*. Thus we have sūtra III, 14 सकारस्य खड्गः, illustrated by दश = दह, again sūtra III, 39 मागविकाया रसयोर लशौ, illustrated by शेष = शेषे. Here श *s* and य *sh* are indicated by च *s*, because by sūtra III, 18 they are no more श *s* and य *sh*, but have been already changed to च *s*, that is, दश = दस = दह, and शेष = सेसे = शेषे*. This procedure, of course, could not be applied to the first part (III, 1—9) which treats of *conjuncts* and which is not affected by sūtra III, 18. In that part, च *s* cannot represent the whole sibilant class, for there the three Sanskrit sibilants, *as such*, become the subjects of change. In the first part, therefore, either all three sibilants must be enumerated severally whenever the sibilant class is spoken of, or some other short sign for them must be adopted. Chanda elected the latter course, and the sign he selected appears to have been the sibilant श *s*, most probably on account of its being the first in the sibilant series (श, य, च). Thus in sūtra III, 2 श्वलोभ्यो व्यजन, श represents च in खर्ग = सगं, and श in श्रोतव्य = सोतव्य. That is, च *v* and र *r* are respectively elided after च *s* and श *s*, next च *s* and श *s*, having now become single consonants, pass into the second part, where श *s* at once comes under the operation of rule III, 18 and turns into च *s*, while च *s*, of course, remains unchanged.† I think it will be admitted that in this arrangement Chanda follows a simple and consistent method. Now what do the Revisionists of C and D do? They omit sūtra III, 10, thereby abolishing the division of the two parts, and they do this for the purpose, evidently, of making sūtra III, 18 applicable to the whole third chapter, and dispensing with the double sign of श *s* and च *s*. Consequently they use च *s* throughout the chapter to indicate the whole sibilant class, because according to their intention the sibilants श *s* and य *sh* practically do not exist, having at once changed to च *s*.

* It will be observed, that the intermediate steps दस and सेसे are here introduced by a silent reference to sūtra III, 18. Such "silent references" occur in all Prākṛit Grammarians. As an instance from Hemachandra, I may mention his sūtra I, 259, where he rules that the *v* of *svapna* becomes *m*, but in reality the *p* of *svapna*, having become *v* by silent reference to sūtra I, 231, becomes *m*. That the *p*, not the *v*, of *svapna* is referred to in I, 259, may be seen by comparing the sūtras I, 46 and II, 108.

† The whole sibilant class is also spoken of in sūtra III, 23, but though that sūtra is in the second part, the sibilants are referred to there, not as *single* consonants, but as parts of a *conjunct*. Hence, naturally, the sibilant used to indicate them is not च *s*, but श *s*.

Thus C D read चवलेभ्यो व्यजन in sūtra III, 2 and illustrate it by the example चोतव्य = चोतव्य, that is, they make च s to indicate श s, because, according to them, चोतव्य changes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, into चोतव्य, whereupon र r is elided by rule III, 2. This process, no doubt, simplifies the original method, by substituting one sign for the sibilant class in the place of two, but it does so at the expense of all symmetry and consistency of the original plan, for with the exception of those two sūtras III, 10 and III, 18, all others are still treated as if the original plan of the division into two parts, referring to conjuncts and singles respectively, were still in force. This inconsistency becomes especially glaring in the case of sūtra III, 8 पाट्ट, which, on the revisionist principle, ought to have been changed to चाट्ट. For just as in the previous case चोतव्य becomes, by silent reference to rule III, 18, चोतव्य, so here स्यट्ट becomes by the same rule स्यष्ट, next च s would be elided. So that, consistently, च s should here have been written to represent य sh. On the other hand, on the original plan, the spelling of sūtra पाट्ट is correct, it could not have been spelled चाट्ट, because the sibilant य sh is the only (conjunct) sibilant to which the rule applies. Briefly, the matter is between Chanda and his Revisionists stands thus. Chanda uses श s to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever the rule is applicable to all the sibilants severally, hence when the rule applies to only one member of the sibilant class, he cannot use श s, but must use that member itself. On the other hand, he uses च s to denote the whole sibilant class, whenever ex hypothesi (that is, by silent reference to rule III, 18) no longer any other sibilant, but च s, is supposed to exist. This terminology, however, presupposes and necessitates the division of the chapter into two parts, which I have already explained. The Revisionists abolish the division and accept only the latter half of Chanda's terminology. But then, in consistency, they are precluded from using any other sibilant (than च) as an indicatory in any sūtra, for, ex hypothesi, no longer any other sibilant, but च s, is supposed to exist. The matter is complicated, but I trust I have succeeded in making it sufficiently clear. Perhaps a complete understanding of the point at issue will not be attainable, unless by practically working through the examples, as I have done, by the light of either of the rival theories. Unfortunately the matter is further complicated by the uncertainty of the spelling in the MSS. A and B. How little reliance can be placed on their spelling may be seen from the fact, that MS. B spells लचौ for लशौ in sūtra III, 39. I must reserve the discussion of this subordinate point, however, for the footnotes to the translation. In the text, I have restored श s in all sūtras, in which the original plan of Chanda requires it, i e., in III, 2 & 6 2d*.

* The only two Prakrit Grammarians who, to my knowledge, use a *sanyāsa* or sign for the sibilant class are Trivikrama and Subhachandra. The former uses श sh (T. V.

Next as to the relative age of the texts of the two sets of MSS, the wording of sūtra III, 34 in MSS A and B indicates a much more ancient phase of the Prākṛit language, than the wording of the same sūtra in MSS. C and D, and this circumstance is confirmed by sūtras III, 11, 12, which are consistent with the wording of the sūtra III, 34 in A and B, but not with that in C and D. It is further confirmed by the omission in A and B of all reference to the (so-called) Samasenī dialect, that is, by the omission of sūtra III, 39a which refers to one of the most incisive differences between that dialect and the (so-called) Māhārāṣṭrī, a difference which, at the period of the formulation of the rules as they are in the text of A B, evidently did not yet exist, while it was fully developed at the time when the text of C D was settled. A comparison of sūtra III, 34 with III, 12 and of III, 13 with III, 11 shows that at that period when the text delivered in A B was written, hard medial single unaspirate consonants were not elided, nor hard medial single aspirates reduced to ॠ h (with the exception of क k and ख kh), though occasionally the former were changed into the corresponding soft consonants. On the other hand a comparison of those sūtras, as they stand in A B, with the same sūtras, as C D have them, shows that at the period, when the text contained in C D was written, all unaspirate consonants (exc ॠ d and ॠ t), whether surd or sonant, were elided, while all aspirate consonants, whether surd or sonant (exc palatals and cerebrals) were reduced to ॠ h . I shall have to recur to this important point presently.

With the exception of the omission in D of the sutras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, the texts of C and D are nearly identical. There is a much greater difference between the texts of A and B. The latter (MS B) contains some additional matter, one part of which is peculiar to B, while the other it has in common with C and D. On the other hand, A has nothing in common with C D, which does not also occur in B. Though, therefore, the texts of A and B are substantially the same, yet B occupies a slightly intermediate position between A on the one hand, and C D on the other. The general result, thus, is that the original grammar of Chanda presents a very old phase of the Prākṛit language, and that the MS A contains that grammar in its oldest and most genuine form, but that this grammar has undergone at various periods, more (in C D) or less (in B) thorough-going revisions.

I, 1, 7), the latter has ॠ (S C I, 1 7). Chanda's ॠ sa is perhaps somewhat anomalous, for with Sanskrit Grammarians it is usual to add u or $varga$ to a consonant, in order to form a ॠ sa (c g , ॠ or कवग for the guttural class). This may have been one of the reasons for the alteration of the Revisionists. But it is possible that Chanda's sign may really have been ॠ or ॠ , in sūtra III, 4, MS B reads ॠ , which may be an error for ॠ (ॠ), and ॠ would be the locative of ॠ or ॠ , see the footnote to translation of sūtra III, 4.

If that had been all, there would not have been much reason for complaint. Unfortunately, the Revisionists have not been content with merely revising or rather recasting and enlarging Chanda's grammar, but while leaving the framework, as it were, of the rules of Chanda untouched, they have attempted to adjust his grammar to a later phase of the language, by altering the spelling of the Prakrit words and forms, occurring in it, so as to bring them in agreement with that later phase. The result in some cases is very ludicrous. Thus according to Chanda's rule III, 11 च *th* changes to च *dh*, by way of illustration the Revisionists make नाथ *nāthah* to change into नादे *nāho*. Again according to the rule III, 34 च *ch*, त *t*, प *p* are not elided, by way of illustration we have सुई *sui* for सूचि *suchi*, वायो *vāo* for वात *vātah*, नेउर *neuram* for नूपुर *nūpuram*, in direct defiance of rule III, 12. The ignoring of these three rules, indeed, has been consistently carried out throughout the grammar*. It was impossible to print the text together with all these inconsistencies, and it became necessary to restore the original text, as far as it could be done with safety.

In reference to some of the most important cases of restoration, I shall now explain the reasons that have guided me. In the case of others of minor importance my reasons for preferring a particular spelling will be found in the footnotes to the English translation. One important case of restoration regarding the sibilants has been already explained (see pp IX, X). With regard to these restorations, though I conceive that they could not be avoided in a scientific edition of the text and though I have given, of course, what after mature consideration of all relevant circumstances, appeared to me to have the greatest probability, I can well foresee, and there is undoubtedly room for, difference of opinion. But considering the difficulties of the case, perhaps I may venture to hope an indulgent consideration of the results such as they are. A more generally satisfactory settlement of the text must wait for more and better MSS, especially of the older text, or for a more competent editor than myself †.

* Another instance is sūtra II, 10, according to which the nominative singular of bases should end with a short *i*, but one of the examples given is *buddhi* for *buddhi*. Similarly according to sūtras I, 3 and I, 7 the instrumental plural in Prakrit has the same form as in Sanskrit, with the exception of Sansk *bhis* becoming Prāk *hi*, the examples, however are *eggih*, *mahūh* for *aggih*, *mahūh* = Skt *agribhīh*, *madhubhīh*. See the further remarks in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar.

† As to the possibility or probability of such revisions of old texts by later hands, I may quote Jacobi's remarks in his Introduction to his excellent edition of the Kalpa sūtra (p 4), "it has been considered as a proof of the priority of Buddhism that Pali is a more archaic language than the Prakrit of the Jains. The fact is true, but it proves nothing. For the form of the Jaina sūtras was fixed only one thousand years after Mahāvira's death. It is but reasonable, that during the preceding millennium the language of the sūtras underwent great alterations in consequence of the natural tendency

(1) With regard to my restoration in the text of the surd consonants, my reasons were briefly the following —

First—There is (as already noticed on p xi) the direct evidence of sūtras III, 11 and 34, which, admitting only the elision of *k* and reduction of *kh*, by implication enjoins the retention of the other surds

Second—The most authentic information that we have as to the state of the oldest Indian Vernacular, in rock-inscriptions, &c, shows that, *as a rule*, the surd consonants were retained, while the sonants might be elided, precisely what Chanda's rules III, 12, 34 indicate

Third.—It will be seen from the critical footnotes to the text, that the MSS A and B in a few cases still retain an original न्त. Thus in II, 26 A B read भे छन । लया छन ॥ Originally, I think, the example must have stood भे क्त । लया छन ॥ The copyist, not recognising क्त as a Prākṛit word, as it was an obsolete form, and mistaking it for an erroneous Sanskrit spelling, turned it into छन. The Revisionists of C and D, on the other hand, recognising the old Prākṛit form क्त, but objecting to it on the score of obsolescence, changed it into the correct later Prākṛit form कय. This appears much more probable than to assume that the scribe of A and B, finding कद् (or even कय) in his original, changed it into छन. On this view, it must be admitted that the Revisionists of A and B, while carrying through their modernisation of the spelling of their text, occasionally overlooked a word and left it standing in its old dress. That, however, is nothing to be wondered at. To us it is a cause of congratulation, as it helps restoring the original text

Fourth—Even as regards the Revisionists of C and D, it is easier to understand their modernizing, *e g*, क्त into कय, than कद्, for though क्त could not possibly have been later Prākṛit, कद् might have been so. If they had found कद् or अच्च्दि (II, 1) in their original text, they might have left them standing, as the retention of sonant medial consonants in the later Prākṛit is not altogether unknown, but if they found क्त or अच्च्त्ति, they could not do otherwise but change it into कय and अच्च्द्, if they wished to conform those words to the spelling of their own day

Fifth—Chanda's rules merely state facts as facts, without defining the range of their applicability, some of the rules are compulsory, others are not so, but whether they are or are not so, does not appear on the face of the rule. Thus rule III, 16, although it might appear so at first sight, is undoubtedly not compulsory, it enjoins the change of न्न to ण्न, but as a matter of fact, an initial न्न never changes to ण्न, and even a medial न्न does so only in comparatively exceptional cases. The rule, in fact, states an *exceptional* fact, but as it is a fact, the fact is duly noticed, though no intimation is given as to

of those who handed down the sūtras by oral tradition or writing to substitute current idioms for antiquated forms," see also *ibidem*, pp 19, 20, also pp. 15, 16, 17.

its frequency, whether it is constant or only occasional * The case of rule III, 12 is similar, it states several facts, some of which are exceptional, while others are nearly constant. Thus, in the face of rule III, 34, there can be little question, but that the change of क l to ग g was a comparatively exceptional occurrence, on the other hand the change of ट t to ड d must have been comparatively constant. It follows, therefore, that, as to the change of त t to द d, and of प p to व v, the rule does not necessarily imply invariability. What the amount of its frequency may have been, must be judged from other considerations, and for the reasons given under Nos 2, 3, 4, it seems to me, that the change must have been a comparatively exceptional one, & e, as a rule त t and प p were retained. On the other hand, the retention of क k must have been comparatively exceptional, as a rule it was elided or, less frequently, changed to ग g.

Sixth—In sūtra II, 22 there is an undesigned coincidence which very strikingly proves the truth of my restorations. Among the substitutes of *vat* "like", there is also mentioned *jahā*. Now *jahā* is clearly the same as the Sanskrit *yathā*. If at the time of the language of the Grammar, it had been the universal practice to reduce a sūid aspirated य th to ह h, there would have been no conceivable reason for singling out the word *jahā* for particular notice. But if य th at that time was not subject to change, or at least only to घ dh, then *jahā* would at once become an exceptional form requiring particular notice. The Revisionists when remodelling Chanda's grammar and reducing (according to the practice of their day) every th to h, failed to notice the inconsistency of permitting *jaha* to remain in the sūtra. Not so Hemachandra, he at once saw the inconsistency and, accordingly, when adopting the sūtra into his grammar (see II C II, 182), omitted *jaha* †.

There is, in sūtra II, 28, a similar undesigned coincidence, showing that at the time of Chanda the sūid unaspirates were not usually subject to elision. In that sūtra it is ruled that the Sanskrit *iti* "thus" changes in Prākṛit to *iya*. If it had been usual at that time to elide all sūid unaspirates, there would have been no need to say anything more in the sūtra than that the

* The rule also enjoins the change of the dental consonants into palatal or cerebral. As it occurs in that part of the grammar which applies to single consonants, the rule as it stands would seem to apply to *all* single dental consonants. As a matter of fact, however, it has a very limited range and chiefly applies to such single dental consonants as had originally formed part of a particular compound. This circumstance is, no doubt, connected with the peculiar plan on which Chanda's Grammar is drawn, and which has been briefly noticed on p VIII and will be fully explained afterwards in the Analysis of his Grammar.

† This is one of the indications (of which some more will be noticed afterwards) of the posteriority of Hemachandra to Chanda and his Revisionists.

final *i* of *iti* changes to *a*. Now this is precisely what Hemachandria in his grammar (see H C I, 91) does. In his time, it had long since become usual to elide a medial त *t*, accordingly, seeing that Chanda's sūtra stated more than was needed, he reformulated it so as to omit what was superfluous. Chanda's Revisionists, however, were again, *more suo*, not so wise as Hemachandra, but allowed Chanda's sūtra to keep its original wording.

It is much to be regretted that the Revisionists did not always act with such inconsistency. But though in a few cases, and those not unimportant ones, it can hardly be doubted but that they did venture to tamper with the sūtras,* yet happily as a rule they contented themselves with the less objectionable process of only remodelling the commentary.

Seventh—Let it be assumed, for argument's sake, that Chanda spelled his words with the hard unaspirates. In later times, as is known from Vaiyāruhi and Hemachandra, hard dentals (त) were, as a rule, elided, while hard labials (प) were generally softened (ब). Accordingly one would expect the revision of Chanda, made by the authors of C and D, to conform to the later practice. On examination, it will be found that that is so. I have counted all cases of hard unaspirates in that portion of Chanda which is common to all four MSS. There are altogether 50 instances of the hard dental (त), among these, C D elide it 47 times, soften it twice and retain it once †. Of the hard labial (प) there are 10 cases, among these C D elide it only once, in the remaining nine cases they soften it (to ब) ‡. But further, having thus changed the original spelling, the Revisionists could not help observing that the result was inconsistent with the express rule III, 34 of the grammar they were revising. Hence to allow of their eliding the hard dentals (and the hard unaspirates

* These are, strictly speaking, only sūtras I, 16, II, 4, 6, where all four MSS agree in giving the revised reading. In all other revised sūtras, my restored reading has the support of some, one or more, MSS, thus, of B in sūtra I, 21 and in III, 23, of A B in I, 19, 20, II, 14, 19, 21, III, 2, 13, 22, 34.

† The softenings are, कद in the special sūtra III, 11 and हवदि in the Māgadhī sūtra III, 39. In both cases, the softening is fully accounted for by the purport of the sūtra. The retention is in पलातं in sūtra I, 23. A retains त in 4 cases (I, 23, II, 2, 26 III, 39), and B in 5 cases (I, 23 II, 26 III, 9 23 39). These retentions are doubtlessly mere oversights.

‡ The solitary case of elision is नेउर, which I am inclined to think a very old exceptional case, perhaps already existing in Chanda's time. It is however worth noting, that C spells नेवुर in II, 4 (confirmed by the marginal gloss), though it has नेउर in III, 34. In one case (पुनरच्चि II, 10) D retains प, so also A once (रूप I, 17), these are probably mere oversights of the Reviser. Similarly A once retains ख (III, 3), and A B once retain ठ (I, 3 पोट). [N B—पुणरवि in the Text, p 16, is a misprint for पुणरपि.]

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that *sūtra* (compare the terms of *sūtra* III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same *sūtra* in the Text), and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (प) notwithstanding the revised terms of *sūtra* III, 34, they further altered the terms of *sūtra* III, 22 (from पवयोर् चत्वारः to पवयोर् च*) and inserted an altogether new *sūtra* (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the *sūtras*. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists, compare H C I, 177, 231, and Vr II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of *sūtra* III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of *sūtra* III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former *sūtra*), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *lh* in *sūtra* III, 13 and subsuming it under *sūtra* III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*, thus, in the examples of *sūtra* III, 11, they change both च *th* and ख *lh* to च *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *lh* in *sūtra* III, 13 is superfluous, accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it, they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of *sūtra* III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of *sūtra* III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order, compare H C I, 187, 236 and Vr II, 27, 28.

(2) Another restoration is the form *tumbhe* in *sūtra* I, 21. Here C and D read *tumhe jasi*. That *tumbhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the *sūtra*. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbbe* and B reads *tumbhe*, but in *sūtra* I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbbe* and B *tumbhe*. Chanda cannot possibly have written the same word in both *sūtras*, that would be contrary to the whole genius of *sūtra*-writing, if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one *sūtra* *tubbbe* (or *tumbhe*) *jassasoh*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS A and B the conjuncts *mbh*, *bhh* and *yyh* are perpetually confused, the two symbols म्भ or य्भ* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिम्भ for

* Once or twice also म्भ and य्भ, these are clearly only due to careless writing.

चिन्ता III, 2, जिम्मा for जित्मा III, 1, वक्त्रो for वज्जो III, 20, सम्भाव for सम्भाव III, 8, सक्क for सज्ज I, 30 There is a simple explanation for this confusion In the Jaina Prākṛit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them * There can be very little doubt, that the MSS A and B were copied from an original MS written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sūtras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nāgarī symbol Since however the two sūtras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols The question is, which were they, from among the three As to sūtra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy, it must have contained the symbol for *bbh* For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sūtra I, 22 (and also in I, 3 where the word re-occurs) On this point C and D may be trusted, the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters, the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing, and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bbh* with those for *jjh* or *mbh* The case is more complicated as to sūtra I, 21 Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading Yet indirectly their reading *tumhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one. For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tuyhe* should have done so Even at the present day *mh* and *mbh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars In Hindi, *e g*, *thāmhār* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhār* For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbbe* in I, 22

(3) For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *z* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanda are correct, it would follow that his Prākṛit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pālī This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanda's Prākṛit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pālī It agrees

* The close resemblance of the symbol for *mbh* to those for *bbh* and *jjh* is strikingly shown in sūtra III, 2, where C appears to read *sypha* and D *sbbhā* for *simbha*

generally) they made the needful change in the terms of that sūtra (compare the terms of sūtra III, 34 in the Appendix C D with those of the same sūtra in the Text), and, on the other hand, to allow of the softening of the hard labial (व) notwithstanding the revised terms of sūtra III, 31, they further altered the terms of sūtra III, 22 (from वयोर ऋचो and inserted an altogether new sūtra (see Appendix C D, p. 50). Through these changes, the Revisionists again placed themselves in agreement with the sūtras. It should be noticed that, with regard to these changes, since they are consistent with one another, both Vararuchi and Hemachandra follow the lead of the Revisionists compare H C I 177, 231 and Vr II, 2, 15. It is different, as regards the treatment of the aspirate hard consonants. Instead of changing the terms of sūtra III, 13 in a manner analogous to their change of the terms of sūtra III, 34 (that is, inserting the hard aspirates into the former sūtra), the Revisionists of C D now take the opposite course of omitting *lh* in sūtra III, 13 and subsuming it under sūtra III, 11. Their theory, namely, is that hard aspirates, having changed to sonant ones by III, 11, may now, by silent reference to III, 13, further change to *h*, thus, in the examples of sūtra III, 11, they change both व *lh* and व *lh* to व *h*. On this theory, of course, the special mention of *lh* in sūtra III, 13 is superfluous accordingly the Revisionists omit it there. But there can be no doubt that this expedient to re-establish consistency is a clumsy and misleading one. Vararuchi and Hemachandra, therefore, have discarded it, they very naturally have preferred to alter the terms of sūtra III, 13, after the analogy of the change of the terms of sūtra III, 34, which is a much more simple way of putting themselves in order, compare H C I, 157, 236 and Vr II, 27, 26.

(2) Another restoration is the form *turibhe* in sūtra I, 21. Here C and D read *turibhe jasi*. That *turibhe* cannot be the original reading, but is probably adopted from I, 3, I shall show in the footnote to the translation of the sūtra. The question is, what the original reading may have been. A reads *tubbbe* and B reads *turibhe*, but in sūtra I, 22 they have the same reading respectively, A *tubbbe* and B *turibhe*. Chandī cannot possibly have written the same word in both sūtras, that would be contrary to the whole genius of sūtra-writing, if the same word had been intended, there would, undoubtedly have been but one sūtra. *tubbbe* (or *turibhe*) *jassasoh*. In the original grammar, then, there must have been a different word in I, 21 from that in I, 22. Next, it must be observed that in the MSS A and B the conjuncts *rbh*, *bh* and *jjh* are perpetually confused, the two symbols ऋ or ऋ* being made to do duty promiscuously for any one of them (see the Plate). Thus B spells सिऋ; for

* Once or twice also ऋ and ऋ, these are clearly only due to careless writing

सिन्हा III, 2, जिन्हा for जिन्हा III, 1, वन्हा for वज्जो III, 20, सन्हावं for सन्हाव III, 8, सन्हा for सज्ज I, 30 There is a simple explanation for this confusion In the Jaina Prakrit the symbols for those three conjuncts are so nearly alike, that for any one unacquainted or unpractised in reading them it is difficult to distinguish them * There can be very little doubt, that the MSS A and B were copied from an original MS written in the Jain characters, and that the words used in the sūtras I, 21 and I, 22 contained those difficult Jain symbols, which being undistinguishable to the transcriber were represented by him by one and the same Nāgarī symbol Since however the two sūtras necessarily require two different words, it is evident that the Jain original must have contained two different symbols The question is, which were they, from among the three As to sūtra I, 22 the answer is comparatively easy, it must have contained the symbol for *bbh* For that is the symbol which appears in C and D in sūtra I, 22 (and also in I, 3 where the word re-occurs) On this point C and D may be trusted, the former was written by a man of the Jain religion and is in Jain characters, the latter, though not uniformly in Jain characters, was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the peculiarities of Jain writing, and both C and D never confound the symbol for *bbh* with those for *yyh* or *mbh* The case is more complicated as to sūtra I, 21 Here even C and D cannot be directly appealed to, as they have a different reading Yet indirectly their reading *tumbhe* declares for *tumbhe* having been the original one For it is easier to conceive that *tumbhe* has been modified into *tumhe* than that *tuyhe* should have done so Even at the present day *mh* and *mbh* constantly interchange in the Indian vernaculars In Hindī, *e g*, *thāmhar* "he supports" may be variously spelled *thāmbhar* For these reasons I have adopted the spelling *tumbhe* in I, 21, and *tubbhe* in I, 22

(3). For some important restorations in nominal declension, the reader is referred to the remarks on the declension of nouns in *i* and *u*, in the Sketch of Chanda's Grammar

The subject of the restorations in Chanda's text naturally leads a step further to the question of the age of himself and the language of which he treats in his grammar If my arguments regarding what must have been the language of the original Chanda are correct, it would follow that his Prakrit was very closely allied to what is commonly known as Pālī This will be shown more in detail in the comparative Sketch of Chanda's grammar. Here it will suffice to point out, that Chanda's Prakrit represents a somewhat later phonetic stage of the old Indian Vernacular than Pālī. It agrees

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with Pāli, in retaining, as a rule, the surd consonants, aspirate and unaspirate, but it differs from Pāli in eliding, as a rule, the sonant unaspirates and reducing to *h* the sonant aspirates, the surd gutturals being treated in both languages respectively after the analogy of the sonants. Still, if the MSS may be trusted, there is one very striking instance in which Chanda's Prākṛit represents an older phonetic stage than even Pāli. This is the accusative singular of feminine nouns in *ā*, *i* and *ī*, and of the first and second personal pronouns. Here Chanda's Prākṛit agrees with Sanskrit in preserving the long vowel (see I, 3), while Pāli as well as the later Prākṛit shorten it, e.g., Skt. and Ch. *gaṇḡām*, but Pā and Pr *gaṇḡam*, Skr *naīm*, Ch *naīm*, but Pā *naīm*, Pr *naīm*, Skr *mām* "me", Ch *mām*, but Pā *mam*, Pr *mam*. Both Vararuchi and Hemachandra have special rules to enjoin the shortening in the later Prākṛit (see Vr V, 21 H C III, 36), so also Kachchayana for the Pāli (see Kach II, 1, 33, p. 49), while there is no trace of any such rule in Chanda, a fact which strongly makes for the correctness of the forms given in I, 3*.

It may now be asked, what language this old Prākṛit of Chanda may have been. As the title page of the present edition shows, I incline to identify it with the *Ārśham* of Hemachandra (H C I, 2 IV, 287). By "ārśha" Hemachandra understands the language, spoken (as he says) by the *Rishis*†, or (as he says in IV, 287) the *old* language. With regard to this *Ārśha* Prākṛit Hemachandra expressly states in his rule I, 3, that it cannot be brought under strict rules‡, and that all its rules are *permissive* only, not compulsory§. This exactly agrees with what I have had already occasion to point out (see p. XIII), that Chanda's rules are only permissive, i.e., they merely state facts without defining their constancy or variability, they may or may not be acted upon according to circumstances which must be ascertained from other sources than the rule itself. Again after giving in IV, 287 the ordinary Māgadhī Prākṛit rule, that the nominative singular of *a*-bases ends in *e*, Hemachandra adds the remark, that the old (*porānam*) or *ārśha*

* The rule Kach II, 1, 33 does not apply to fem. nouns in *ā*, those are provided for by rule II, 1, 32. Now Chanda's sūtra II, 1 corresponds to Kach. II, 1, 32, and it might be supposed that Ch. II, 1 would similarly necessitate the shortening of *ā*. That was evidently the opinion of the Revisionists of O D, who write *gaṇḡam* and *tam*, but *naīm*. But it is very improbable that in Chanda's Prākṛit *ī* should have remained long, while *ā* was shortened. Either all three (*ā*, *ī*, *ū*) were shortened or none was shortened. Now that *ī* and *ū* were not shortened, is admitted even by the Revisionists. The fact is, Ch. II, 1 is formulated so as to allow the very forms *gaṇḡam*, *tām*, for these are due to sandhi (*ganga + am*, *tea + am*).

† *Rishnam idam ārśham*

‡ H C I, 3 *ārśham pratyutam bahulam bhavati*

§ H C I, 3 *āshe hi sarve vadhayo vikalpyante*

* Hemachandra's words are *yad api "porānam addhamāgahabbhāsaniyayam havi suttam"* ity ādina ārshaya ardhmāgadhahbhāshānyatatvam āmnāyī viddhais tad api prayo 'sya eva vidhānti, na valshyamānalakshanasya, i e, "what has been said by the ancients regarding 'the rules of the old language being governed by those of the Arddhamāgadhī,' that may be also understood of the present rule (viz H C 4, 287), but of that rule only, not of the succeeding ones" Jacobi's interpretation of this important passage, if I understand it rightly, somewhat differs from mine, though the general tenor is the same (See *Kalpa Sutra*, p 17) I do not think Jacobi has quite caught Hemachandra's meaning Hemachandra does not wish to contradict the old tradition, but only guard his own grammar against a wrong interpretation of it "Rightly understood", he means to say, "the old tradition confirms my grammar, for it refers only to the first rule, not to the whole of my chapter on Magadhī."

† As a minor evidence of Chanda's Prākṛit being the Aṛsha, I may mention the

It would at the same time seem to be proved by Chanda's Grammar, that at that early period, the later division into *Ārddhamāgadhī*, *Mahārāshtrī* and *Sauraseni* probably did not yet exist, but that these three later subdivisions originally formed but one great language, which was looked upon as *the* (standard) *Prākṛit*. By the side of this great or standard *Prākṛit*, however, there existed two other *Prākṛits* of lesser importance, which, while substantially the same as the standard *Prākṛit*, yet in a few very striking peculiarities differed from it. These two lesser *Prākṛits* were the *Māgadhī* and the *Apabhraṃsa*. The striking peculiarity of the former was the change of *r* and *s* to *l* and *ṣ* respectively, that of the latter was the retention of *r* as part of a conjunct. That this was the state of the *Prākṛits* in Chanda's time is very clearly shown by his Grammar (comp III, 37, 39). The question is, is it possible to fix historically the time when that was the case. I believe we have in the language of the famous Rock-inscriptions of Asoka the means of approximately fixing the date. I cannot do better than quote on this subject the remarks of General A. Cunningham in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol I, p 43 * "The Inscriptions of Asoka are quite invaluable for the study of the vernacular languages of India, as they present us with several undoubted and authentic texts of the common language of the people in the third century B. C. As revealed in these engraved records, this spoken language was *essentially the same* throughout the wide and fertile regions lying between the Himalaya and Vindhya, from the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges. There are, however, some *marked points of difference*, which show that there were *at least three distinct varieties* of *Pāli* (or *Prākṛit*) in the time of Asoka. These may be called, according to their geographical distribution, the *Panjābī* or north-western dialect, the *Ujjenī* or middle dialect, and the *Māgadhī* or eastern dialect." General Cunningham, then, enumerates those "marked points of difference." The chief characteristic of the *Panjābī* or the dialect of North-Western India, he says, "is the retention of the subjoined *r*", that of the *Māgadhī* or the eastern dialect is "the entire want of the letter *r*, for which *l* is uniformly substituted" (Corp I I. pp 43, 44.) If we substitute *Apabhraṃsa* for General Cunningham's *Panjābī*, we have almost the very words of Chanda's Grammar. It would be, however, going too far, I think, to ascribe that Grammar to the third century B. C. Probably it was com-

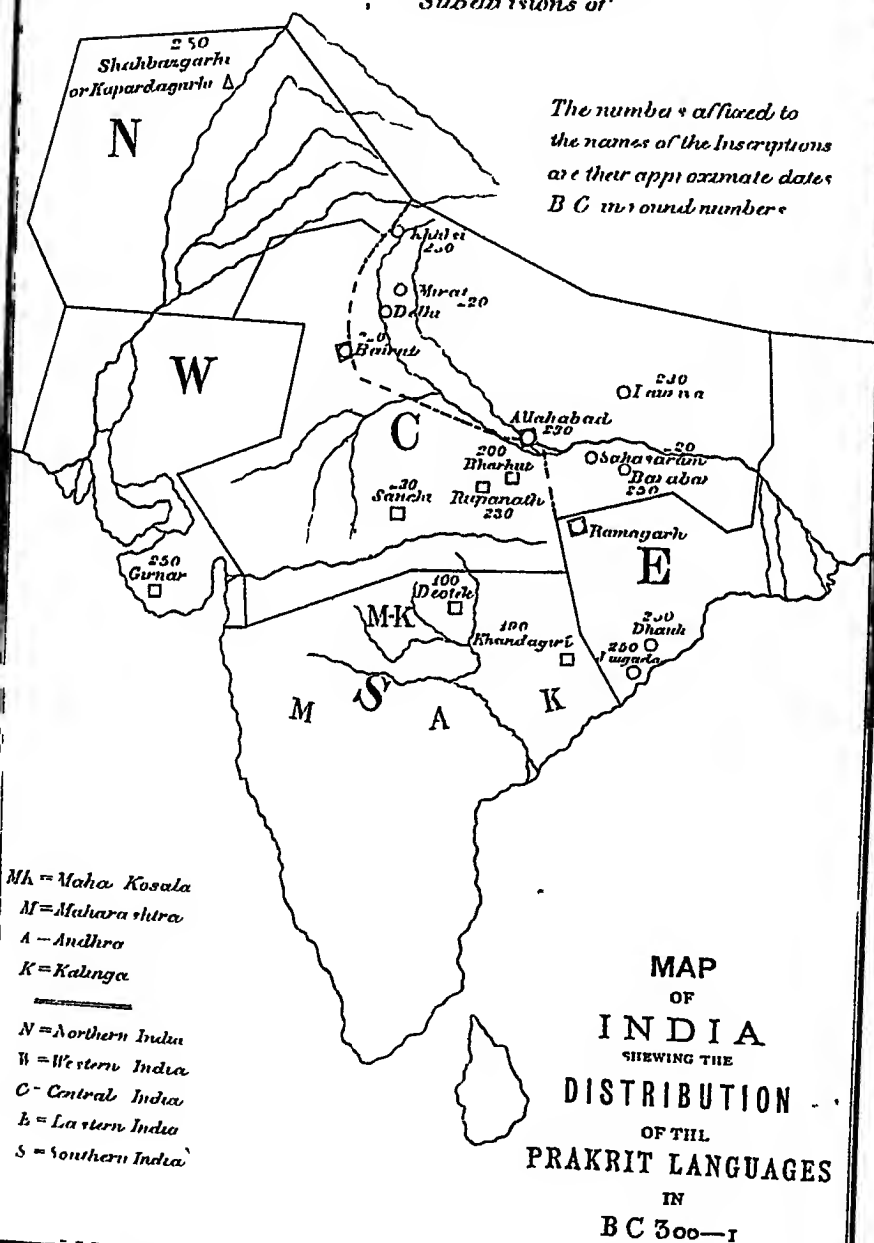
fict, that certain forms which are expressly noted by Hemachandra as peculiar to the *Kṛṣṇa*, are given as ordinary forms by Chanda, e g, *latṭu* II, 19, cf H. C. II, 146, *suhumam* or *sūhamam* III, 30, cf H. C. II, 101, 113, etc.

* See, however, Lassen's similar remarks in his *Indian Antiquities*, vol II, p 221 (quoted in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, vol II, pp 109, 132).

† The italics in the extract are mine.

- Inscriptions with *l* and *r* and *e*
 ○ *l* *r*
 □ *l* *e*
 □ *r* *e*
 Δ Subjoint *r* *e*
 ----- Boundary of Eastern and Western Prākrit
 Subdivisions of

The numbers affixed to
 the names of the inscriptions
 are their approximate dates
 B C in round numbers



posed at a somewhat later time, for the elision of the sonant unaspirates and the reduction to *h* of the sonant aspirates appear to have been a much more generally prevailing practice in the language of the time of Chanda, than in that of the time of Asoka, as exhibited in his Rock-inscriptions *

As to the Paisāchī, mentioned by Chanda in III, 38, it is provided for by the term "at least" in the above quoted extract from General Cunningham's work. My view of the Paisāchī, as I have explained more fully elsewhere (see Introduction to my Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages), is that it is the name for the generally prevailing Prākṛit, as pronounced or rather mis-pronounced by the aboriginal population

An attempt may now be made, with the help of the known localities of the Inscriptions, to approximately determine the boundaries of the areas, respectively occupied by the Prākṛit languages, named by Chanda. One of the principal peculiarities of the Māgadhī or Eastern Prākṛit, mentioned by Chanda, is the substitution of *l* for *r* † This is found in the Inscriptions of Khalsi, Muat, Lauriya, Sahasrām, Bairāt, Rāmgarh, Dhauri and Jaugada (see Map) ‡ At Bairāt, one inscription shows it, the other does not, and the same is the case at Allahābād. If, therefore, a line be drawn from Khalsi, southward to Bairāt, thence eastward to Allahābād and again southward by Rāmgarh to Jaugada, that line will be the approximate boundary between the Eastern or Māgadhī, and the Western or Chanda's Standard Prākṛit. The former thus occupies the whole of Eastern India and the north-eastern half of Central India. The Standard Prākṛit, on the other hand, occupies the south-western half of Central India, the whole of Western India and an indefinite part of Southern India, probably down to the southern limits of the Mahāśāṣṭra, Andhra and Kalinga kingdoms. The Northern or Apabhraṃṣa Prākṛit occupies Northern India, west of the Indus, where the Shālbāzgarhī Inscription exhibits the peculiarity, attributed by Chanda to that Prākṛit, viz the retention of the subjoined *r*. Further Chanda mentions that in the Standard (or western) Prākṛit, the nominative singular sometimes ends with an *e*, sometimes with an *o*. Now the Inscriptions at Sanchi and Rūpanāth show the termination *e*, while

* Professor Jacobi, in the introduction to his excellent edition of the *Kalpa Sūtra*, mentions another sign of the old vernacular, which appears to be borne out by Chanda's grammar. "A trace of a still older phase of the language (than Jaina Prākṛit) is the optional insertion of a vowel between two consonants incapable of assimilation" (see p 19, also p 4). This seems to be indicated by Chanda's sūtra III, 30.

† With regard to the other peculiarity of substituting the palatal *s* for the dental *ś*, the Inscriptions seem to give no evidence, except one of them at Rāmgarh, which has *s* throughout.

‡ This map is based on the frontispiece-maps in General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol I, and his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol I.

those of Gīrnār, Deotek and Khandagiri have *o*. Thus a line drawn from Burāt, in a south-easterly direction towards Deotek and thence eastward to the Māgadhī area, will approximately divide the *o*-area of the Western Prakrit from its *o*-area. The former of these two areas may be described as that of, what was afterwards called, the Ārddhamāgadhī Prakrit, because this Prakrit possesses the termination *e* in common with the Māgadhī. The other subdivisional area will, then, be that of, what in later times came to be called, the Mahārāshṭrī and Sauraseni Prakrits. The Pañcābhidhī must have been current in the southern half of Central India and in the whole of Southern India, in the wild regions to the north and south of the Vindhya range of mountains.

Another chronological question, on which the foregoing investigations throw some light, is that of the relative age of Chanda and his Revisionists with regard to the two other well-known Prakrit Grammarians, Vararuchi and Hemachandra. As regards the latter, I have already (p. xiv) incidentally shown grounds for believing that he must have been acquainted with Chanda's Grammar, in the recension of the Revisionists. Indeed, as to Chanda's Grammar generally, that is almost capable of demonstration. In his sūtra III, 81 Hemachandra rules that the three pronouns *idam*, *tad*, *etad* assume the form *se* in the genitive singular and the form *sim* in the genitive plural, but he adds that "another Grammarian allows the form *se* also in the genitive plural of the two pronouns *idam* and *tad*"*. The singular number "another Grammarian" is noteworthy. It cannot refer to Vararuchi, because the latter (VII, 11, 12) agrees with Hemachandra in the distribution of the forms *se* and *sim* to the singular and plural respectively, and moreover Vararuchi allows those forms only to the pronoun *tad*. On the other hand, Hemachandra's remark exactly agrees with Chanda's statement in his sūtra I, 17, that "the two pronouns *tad* and *idam* assume the form *se* in the genitive of both the singular and plural"†. The coincidence is too striking to be merely accidental. Of course, this would leave it still an open question, whether or not Hemachandra is prior to the Revisionists of Chanda. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion, that the latter must be placed earlier than Hemachandra. It is true, that most of the additional matter in C and D, is also found in Hemachandra's Grammar, in some cases expressed in the very same words. But the manner of its arrangement and wording seem clearly to show, that it is original in C D, and that Hemachandra in writing his own grammar drew on the text of C D rather than that the latter rearranged and modified Hemachandra's rules. Thus the wording of some rules in CD is very inaccurate, as compared with the corresponding rule in

* *Idam-tad-ānāṃ se adeyam lāśchīd vācchati*, H C III, 81

† *Tadīdam-ānāṃ se śāśchīd-rupaṇam*, Ch I, 17

Hemachandra (compare, e g , Ch II, 6a with H C III, 14, 24) Some old Prākṛit forms to which C D devote special rules (II, 13a, 13b) are subsumed by Hemachandra under another rule (H C III, 137) * Many peculiar forms, mentioned by C D as belonging to the ordinary Prākṛit, are referred by Hemachandra to the Apabhraṃsa dialect (compare, e g , Ch II, 27l with H C IV, 444). All this is hardly likely to have been done by any one working with Hemachandra's grammar before his eyes, whereas it is natural that Hemachandra, having before him the text of C D and noticing its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, should have set about remodelling and rearranging it † The only evidence of any moment, which seems to make for the priority of Hemachandra is the sūtra I, 16, where the Revisionists have elided the *d*, while Hemachandra in his corresponding sūtra III, 8 still preserves it But the evidence on the other side seems to me much stronger, and I think it, therefore, more probable, that the text of C and D, so far at least as it is common to both, is older than Hemachandra On the other hand, it can be demonstrated that the text of MS D, with its peculiar additions of sūtras II, 1a, 1b, 1c, is later than Hemachandra. The corresponding sūtras in Hemachandra are I, 5, 6, 8 Two of them, indeed, *viz* , I, 6 and I, 8, are, word for word, the same as Ch II, 1a and I, 1b But it will be observed that in Hemachandra the order is reversed Sūtra II, 1b in MS D corresponds to H C I, 8, while II, 1c in MS D corresponds to H C I, 6 That Hemachandra's order is the correct one follows from the fact, that the negative particle *na* "not", which must be understood in sūtra I, 8 in order to make it intelligible, is, according to a well-known practice of sūtra-works, supplied from the *preceding* sūtra I, 6 On the other hand in MS D, the sūtra II, 1b, ^{as} it is not preceded by any sūtra containing the negative particle, remains simply unintelligible, unless, contrary to the well-established practice, the negative particle is supplied from the succeeding

* It may be noted that the omission of all mention of these old Prākṛit forms in the text of the MS A B makes for the antiquity of the latter For it shows that in their time these forms were not "old" or obsolete, but fresh and living, and called for no special remark

† Many other evidences for the priority of C and D with regard to Hemachandra will be noticed in the footnotes to the English translation I will mention here only one. Supposing that Hemachandra knew the text of C and D, he could not help noticing the discrepancy between its sūtras III, 34 and III, 12 What more natural than to accept sūtra III, 34, which was in conformity with the then state of the Prākṛit language, as the principal rule, and subsume sūtra III, 12 under it as an exception? Now this is, what Hemachandra actually has done, (see H C I, 177 and compare the examples) Thus, at all events, is a much more probable explanation of the circumstances, than to suppose the reverse to have taken place See also the footnote on p xiv

sūtra This appears to me to be conclusive as to the priority of Hemachandra. It might be thought, at first sight, that the fact, that Hemachandra's sūtra IV, 353 is found in MS C, but not in MS D, goes to prove similarly that the text of C also is later than Hemachandra. But I think it exceedingly probable that the omission of that sūtra in D is quite accidental, perhaps even a mere error of the writer of my copy. For omitting from D the sutras II, 1a, 1b, 1c which are undoubtedly drawn from Hemachandra I, 5, 6, 8, MS D has only *one* sūtra less than MS C, and as the text of the two is otherwise nearly identical, it is more than probable that sūtra I, 11a ought to be supplied in D*. As regards the relative age of Vararuchi and Chanda, the indications seem sufficiently marked to attempt a decision. The treatment of the ablative suffixes *do* and *du* in Vr V, 6 as compared with their treatment by the Revisionists in I, 16, makes it certain, that Vararuchi is earlier than the Revisionists, who possibly may have been guided by his grammar in making their revisions of Chanda. The strange circumstance that the Revisionists, though evidently men of the Jain community, yet, contrary to the practice of Juna Prākṛit, changed *every* dental *n* to cerebral *ṇ*, seems to be strongly confirmatory of an influence on them by the absolute rule (II, 42) of Vararuchi's grammar. Hemachandra's rules (I, 228, 229), undecided as they are, could not have influenced them (See remarks on p. xxi). On the other hand the terms of Vr II, 2 as compared with those of Ch III, 34 in MSS A and B, would seem to make it equally certain, that Vararuchi was later than Chanda. But as to whether he was acquainted with Chanda's work, there is too little evidence to form an opinion. On the whole, I should think it improbable



A SKETCH OF CHANDA'S GRAMMAR,

COMPARED WITH THOSE OF VARARUCHI AND HEMACHANDRA

1, VOWELS

The vowel system does not materially differ from that of the ordinary Prākṛit. But many of the peculiarities of the latter do not yet show themselves in the earlier Prākṛit of Chanda.

In common with the later, the old Prākṛit does not possess the following Sanskrit vowels, *ṛ* (II, 5), *ṛ* (II, 6), *au* (II, 8) and the protracted (*pluta*, II, 14). Nothing is said regarding *ṛi*, *lri*, *lri*, but they seem to be included in the term *rvarnasya* (II, 5).

* A similar accidental omission of sūtra I, 15 has occurred in the case of MS B.

Instead of *i*, either the syllable *ii* or any other vowel (*a*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *o*) may be used, according to circumstances (II, 5)

Instead of *ai* either *ai* or *e*, and instead of *au* either *au* or *o*, may be used, according to circumstances (II, 6-9) but not *i*, *i* and *u*, as in later Prākṛit

With regard to the changes of those vowels which the old Prākṛit possesses, there are the following two broad laws

1 *A long vowel (ā, ī, ū) preceding a conjunct consonant is shortened (a, i, u)*, II, 3 Hemachandra's rule, H C I, 84, corresponds to this, Vararuchi has no corresponding rule, see Cowell, p 185

2 *The final vowel of the former part of a compound word is dropped, if the initial vowel of the latter part is followed by a conjunct consonant* (II, 2), e g, *deva + indra* would in Sanskrit be *devendra*, but in the Aśika the final *a* of *deva* is elided, hence the compound is *devinda** There is nothing corresponding to this rule in either Vararuchi or Hemachandra, they apparently did not acknowledge it But evidences of the change to which the rule refers are by no means uncommon, even in the later Jaina Prākṛit, thus in the Bhagavatī occur ~~gopurāṇe~~ = Skt *gopapagah*, *appuṣṭe* = Skt *alpotsukah*, *paduppanna* = Skt *prati-utpanna*, *sattuttarām* = Skt *saptottarām*, (see Weber's edition, pp 386, 406, 408, 427)

On the other hand the later Prākṛit changes of *i* to short *e* and of *u* to short *o* (V I, 12, 20 H C I, 85, 116) are unknown to Chanda Thus we have *gihati* in Ch III, 23 for *genhai* in II C IV, 209

For the rest, vowels are liable to a great variety of interchanges, and that, whether they occur in a single word (II, 4) or when they occur at the point of junction in a compound word or even at the point of contact of two words in a sentence (II, 1) It is this miscellany of changes, summed up by Chanda in two short rules (I, 1, 4), the separate enumeration of which in distinct rules has given rise to the great expansion of the chapter on vowels in the Grammars of Vararuchi and Hemachandra It is quite possible, however, that a few of the interchanges, noted by the latter, did not yet obtain in the earlier Prākṛit

2, CONSONANTS

With regard to the Consonants, there are five points in which the older Prākṛit of Chanda differs from its later forms, as exhibited in Vararuchi and Hemachandra

1 The preservation of the dental *n*, in every case, whether single or double, whether initial or medial in a word This follows from sūtra II, 14

* Hemachandra mentions this very word in an Aśika sentence, *devinda nam abbati* see H C III, 102

when compared with its revised terms in C D II, 14, and from the uniform spelling of the Prākṛit examples with *n* in MSS A and B. Still in exceptional cases the change of *n* to *ṇ* does occur in the older Prākṛit (III, 16). But, the almost general rule of the latter is to follow the Sanskrit usage, to change *n* to *ṇ* only in those cases where the change would occur in Sanskrit under the influence of a preceding (cerebral) *ri*, *r* or *śh*. The Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 42) as well as the practice of the Revisionists exhibits the exact counterpart, *riṇ*, a uniform substitution of the cerebral *n* for the dental *n*. Hemachandra's Prākṛit (the so-called Jaina Prākṛit) exhibits a practice more approaching to that of Chanda, *riṇ*, dental *n* may be preserved when double medial or single initial, but is changed to *ṇ*, when single medial (H C I, 228, 229). Still the difference is marked, and Hemachandra knew it, for he points it out himself *

2 The preservation of the medial single surd unaspirate consonants, with the only exception of *l* which may be elided. This follows from sūtra III, 34 as compared with the terms of that sūtra in C D III, 34. But *t* was not unfrequently, and *t* and *p* were exceptionally, softened to *d*, *ḍ*, *ḍ* respectively (III, 12). See also introductory remarks on pp xiii, xiv. In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi (II, 2) the surd consonants are elided, with the exception that *t* is always (Vr II, 20), and *t* and *p* not unfrequently (Vr II, 7 V, 6 II, 15), softened to *d*, *ḍ*, *v* respectively. The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (H C I, 177, 195, 231), except that dental *t* is now always elided (H C I, 209), its softening to *d* now only surviving in the Sauraseni and Magadhi dialects (H C I, 209, IV, 260, 302). The three successive stages of phonetic decay can be clearly traced, and this explains why the peculiarity of Sauraseni and Magadhi in retaining the sonant *d* is not noticed by Chanda, it was simply because in his time no difference in this respect between those two dialects and the great Prākṛit had declared itself. The fact seems to be, that the great Prākṛit dialect decayed much faster, than the other two Prākṛit dialects, though the long lapse of years has now practically obliterated any difference. In the modern dialects all over North India, there is no appreciable difference in the treatment of *d*, perhaps the only trace of the original tenacity of the Magadhi in retaining *d* being preserved in the past participial terminations *il* or *al* in Bangālī, Oriyā, Eastern Hindī and Maīāthī (the nearest representatives of the old Magadhi), which in all probability are the same as the Magadhi

* *Arśhe*, *analam*, *amlo*, *analo*, *iti ady apī*, i e, in the *ārśha* medial *n* is preserved, as also the initial *n* (H C I, 228).

† I leave here aside the curious rule of Hemachandra with reference to the *Apabhraṃsa* (H C IV, 306). It refers to an ancient kind of *Apabhraṃsa*, as I shall show in the footnotes to the English Translation.

termination *ida* (Sanskrit *ida*), see the introductory remarks in my *Comparative Grammar*, also *ibid*, §§ 109, 306, pp 62, 139

3 The preservation of the medial single surd aspirate consonants, with the only exception of *ḷḷ* which may be reduced to *ᳵ* But *ḷḷ* was not unfrequently, and the rest were exceptionally softened, to *dh*, etc. This has been shown in the introductory remarks pp xiii, xiv In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi, only *chh* is preserved, but *ḷḷ* is always, and *ph* generally, softened to *dh* and *hh* respectively (Vr II, 24, 26), while *ḷḷ* and *th* are always reduced to *h* (Vr II, 27) The still later Prākṛit of Hemachandra agrees with that of Vararuchi in every respect (II C III, 187, 199), except that *ph* may now be either softened to *bh* or (more usually) reduced to *h* (H C I, 236) Here again the softening of *th* to *dh* only survives in the Śauraseni and Māgadhī dialects (Vr XII, 3 II C IV, 267, 302) The phonetic parallelism between this and the preceding case will not fail to be observed

4 The preservation of the single medial semi-consonants *y* and *v* This follows from a comparison of sūtra III, 31 with its terms as revised in C D III, 31 In the later Prākṛit of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *y* was always and *v* commonly elided (Vr II, 2 II C I, 177) In those cases where Hemachandra seems to have preserved *y*, it is really not the semi-consonant which has been retained, but the semivowel *y* (see No 5) which has been inserted.

5 The insertion of the semivowel *y* to fill up the hiatus whenever the second vowel is *a* (III, 35) This is the so-called *ya-vruti*, as it is named by Hemachandra (I, 180) According to him, however, both vowels must be *a* Vararuchi's Prākṛit knows nothing of this usage It is not the peculiarity of any age or locality of Prākṛit, but the degree of its use or disuse marks the degree of the vernacular or artificial character of Prākṛit It is very observable in the less artificialized Jaina Prākṛit

In all other respects there is no difference between the older Prākṛit and that of the later Grammarians

The only consonants of the Sanskrit system which the former does not possess are the guttural *ᳵ*, the palatal *ᳶ* *᳷* (II, 11), the palatal *᳸* and the cerebral *᳹* *ᳺ* (III, 18) Both Vararuchi (IV, 17) and Hemachandra (I, 30) allow the two *᳸* in conjunction with their own class To Chanda this practice appears to have been not unknown, as sūtra II, 15 would indirectly seem to show However, there can be but little doubt, that this was only an orthographic, and not a phonetic question, the class-*᳸* was probably always pronounced (just as it is now, in the modern Gaudians), though it might be written in either way, by its own proper symbol or by the anusvāra Nevertheless, though that is the theoretical rule of the grammars (even now), practically the class-nasal is never written, but always the anusvāra.

The other consonants of the Sanskrit system, which the old Prākṛit possesses, are subject to the following laws

a, *Single Consonants*

1, Final consonants are either dropped or changed to anusvāra or preserved by the addition of the vowel *a* (II, 11 III, 33) In Vaiaṛuehi and Hemachandra these cases are particularised in a number of separate sūtras (Vi IV, 6—12 H C I, 11—24)

2, Medial sonant unaspirate mute consonants are elided, (III, 34), though there are occasional exceptions (III, 30, C D II, 26)

3, Medial sonant aspirates are reduced to *h* (III, 13)

4, Initial *g* is once (in *ghaṛam*) said to become *gh* (III, 20)

5, [In those cases, where *j* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*gñ*), it becomes *n* (III, 19)].

6, *d* sometimes changes to *l* (III, 21) Only one example (*solasa*) is given, but it is probably meant as a type of others In later times, at all events, this change was not uncommon, see C D III, 21 Vr. II, 23. H C I, 202

7, *n* changes to *ṇ* in Pāṣāṇhī (III, 38)

8, Dental consonants (incl *n*) exceptionally change to the corresponding cerebral (III, 16) [In those cases where they have arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*ty*, *dy*, *sth*, etc) they may change to the corresponding palatal or cerebral (III, 16), once (in *khambho*) such a *th* becomes *ḷh* (III, 19)]

9, Once (in *vammatho*) *m* changes to *v* (III, 21)

10, Initial *y* becomes *j* (III, 15), except in the second personal pronominal base, where it becomes *t* (III, 17) Medial *y* remains unchanged (see above, No 4, p xxvii), except in the passive where it is changed to *ḡ* (III, 25), and in those cases in which it is vocalized to *e* and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31) [In those cases where *y* has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct, it becomes *j* or, exceptionally, *l* (III, 15, 22)] In *teraha* it is apparently said to become *r* (III, 22), but the same word is explained differently in III, 31

11, *r* remains unchanged, excepting a few rare cases in which it is said to change to *s* or *n* (III, 18, 20) These exceptions, however, can be explained differently In the Pāṣāṇhī and Māgadhī dialects it always changes to *l* (III, 38, 39)

12, *v* remains unchanged (see above, No 4, p xxvii), excepting those few cases of medial *v*, in which it is vocalized and combines with the adjacent vowels (III, 31) Once (in *rukḷho*) it is said to become *r* (III, 22)

13, *s* remains unchanged, excepting a few cases in which it becomes *h* (III, 14) In Mágadhí, however, it always changes to *s* (III, 39) [In those cases where it has arisen from a Sanskrit *śh* or conjunct consonant, it may change to *hh* or *chh* or *h* (III, 14)]

14, *h* remains unchanged, excepting one case (*gharam*) where it is said to become *r* (III, 19) [In those cases where it has arisen from an original Sanskrit conjunct (*hy*, *hv*), it changes to *jh* or *bh* (III, 20, 21)]

b, *Conjunct Consonants*

In the treatment of these the older Prákrit is altogether in accord with the later They may be dealt with in two ways —

1, either they may be dissolved by interposing some short vowel (*a* or *i* or *u*), III, 30

2, or they may be simplified by eliding one of them (III, 1—9) and doubling the other (III, 24, 27)

As regards doubling, an aspirate is reduplicated by means of the corresponding unaspirate (III, 26), and it never takes place in the beginning of a word (III, 28), nor in a few exceptional cases (III, 29)

With regard to elision Chanda's *formal system* much differs from that used in Vairuchi and Hemachandra, though the *material result* is the same In the latter Grammarian's most conjuncts are changed *bodily* to a single consonant (see V. III, 9—66 H. C. II, 1—115), but Chanda strictly carries out the theory of elision For this purpose he arranges the consonants according to their degree of persistency, thus *r*, *y*, *v*, *l*, *h*, class consonants (incl. nasals), sibilants Here each consonant resists those preceding it, but gives way to those succeeding it Thus *r* gives way under all circumstances (III, 9, etc. in the Apabhramsa III, 37), *y* gives way to *v*, *l*, *h*, etc (III, 1, 2, 3, 5), but not to *r*, *v* gives way to *l* (III, 2) or *h* (III, 1) or the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r* and *y* (III, 2, 9), *l* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3, 5) or sibilants (III, 2), but not to *r*, *y*, *v* (III, 2, 9), *h* gives way to the class-consonants (III, 3), but not to *y* and *v* (III, 1), the class-consonants, including the nasals, give way to the sibilants (III, 4, 6, 8), but not to *r* (III, 3, 5, 9) or *y*, *v*, *l* (III, 3, 5) or *h* (III, 3), lastly a sibilant gives way to no other consonant (III, 2, 4, 8), except to a succeeding *single* class-consonant or nasal (III, 3, 6 in *śh*, *sp*, *śhn*, *śn*, *sn*, *sm*, *shm*, etc.) This is his principle of elision But his principle of arranging the sūtras is the order of the letters in the alphabet He commences with the last letter in the alphabet *h* (III, 1), then proceeds to the sibilants and semi-consonants (III, 2), next he takes the class-consonants (III, 3—8), and lastly he gives the peculiar case of *r*, which is always elided (III, 9) The six sūtras, referring to the class-consonants, are arranged according to the

principle of the order of the elided letter in the conjunct First Chanda gives two rules about eliding the first in the conjunct (III, 3, 4), then one rule about eliding the second in the conjunct (III, 5), lastly three rules about optionally eliding the first or the second (III, 6—8)

After the elision has been made and before the doubling takes place, the remaining single consonants undergo some highly artificial changes. These have been already enumerated under the rules regarding the changes of single consonants where they are indicated by being placed within angular brackets Here it only remains to add, that when the remaining single consonant happens to be a palatal or cerebral sibilant (*s* or *śh*), it is *ipso facto* (i.e. by silent reference to III, 18) supposed to be changed to the dental *s* and treated as such in regard to the needful change before doubling (see remarks on pp ix, x) The reason of this will be at once understood, when it is recollected (see p xxvii), that those two sibilants are the only consonants of the Sanskrit phonetic system (beside *ṣ* and *ṣh*) which do not exist in Prākṛit

It may be well to illustrate Chanda's highly artificial system of treating conjuncts by a few examples, as *lakṣmī*, *kr̥ṣṇam*, *spashtam*, *sthitah*, *vidyā*, *jihvā*, *vāhyaḥ* Here *lakṣmī* first becomes *lakṣhī* (by III, 6), then *lashī* (III, 4) or *lasī* (III, 18), next *lachhī* (III, 14), finally *lahebbī* (III, 24, 26) *KṚṢṆAM* becomes first *kr̥nam* (III, 6) or *kanam* (II, 5), and then *kanham* (III, 23) *SPASHTAM* becomes first *pashṭam* (III, 3) or *pushṭam* (II, 4), then *phushṭam* (III, 11, 28), finally *phutṭam* (III, 8), or *pushṭam* may become *puṭam* (III, 8), then *puṭham* (III, 11), finally *putṭham* (III, 24, 26) *STHITAH* becomes first *thitah* (III, 3), then *thitah* (III, 16, 28), then *thitao* (II, 10), finally *thito* (II, 1) *VIDYĀ* first becomes *vidā* (III, 5), then *vṛdā* (III, 16), finally *vṛjā* (III, 24, 27) *JIHVA* becomes first *jihā* (III, 1), then *jibhā* (III, 21), finally *jibbhā* (III, 24, 26) *VAHYAḤ* becomes first *vāhah* (III, 1), then *vāghah* (III, 20), then *vāghah* (III, 24, 26), then *vajghah* (II, 3), next *vajghao* (II, 10), finally *vajgho* (II, 1)

It will be now understood from the preceding remarks, why the division of the third chapter of Chanda's Grammar into two parts, one (III, 1—9) on conjuncts, the other (III, 9—39) on single consonants, is such an important, and even essential, feature of his grammatical arrangement To abolish that division, as the Revisionists have done, is to destroy its symmetry and coherence

3, ANUSVĀRA

The anusvāra is employed in as promiscuous a manner in the older Prākṛit (II, 15, 11), as in the later (H C I, 23—30 V, IV, 12—17) It is not only used where it also occurs in Sanskrit, but sometimes it takes

the place of an elided consonant, which may have been either the final of a word (II, 11) or the first part of a conjunct (II, 15), or again it may be added at the end of a word for the mere sake of euphony (II, 15).

4, VISARGA

The visarga in the older Prākṛit, as in the later, is never tolerated (II, 10). It is either dropped altogether or changed into *o* or *e* or *i*. The change to *o* or *e* occurs, *e g*, in the nominative singular, that to *i* in *punarapi* (compare H C II, 179).

5, NOUNS

The older Prākṛit, like the later, has three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter (I, 2), but the gender is variable (I, 4). It has also like it, only two numbers, singular and plural, the latter being also used in the place of the Sanskrit dual (II, 12). It further has only six cases, the genitive being used in the place of the dative (II, 13).^{*} The six cases with their case-suffixes are the following, for masculine nouns

Singular	Nom <i>o, e</i> (II, 10) or—	Plural	— (I, 11) or <i>no</i> (I, 12)
	Ace <i>am</i> (I, 3)		<i>e</i> or — (I, 11, 15), <i>no</i> (I, 12)
	Intr <i>ina</i> or <i>ná</i> (I, 8)		<i>hi</i> (<i>hiṃ</i>) (I, 7)
	Abl <i>á, to, tu, hinto</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 12, 16)		<i>hinto</i> (I, 8)
	Gen <i>ssa</i> or <i>no</i> (I, 13)		<i>na, ha</i> (<i>naṃ, haṃ</i>) (I, 5)
	Loc <i>e, mmi</i> (I, 14)		<i>su</i> (<i>suṃ</i>) (I, 3)

N B—The forms given after “or” belong to nouns in *i* and *u*, the others are general, except those of the nom, insti, abl singular and ace plural and *e* of the loc sing which belong to nouns in *a*. The sign (—) means absence of any suffix.

The vocative sing and voc plur are nowhere noticed by Chanda, which may be explained in two ways, either that their forms were the same as in Sanskrit, or that they were the same as those of the old Prākṛit nominative.

Feminine nouns add the same suffixes, except in the insti, abl, gen and loc sing, where they take the suffix *e* (I, 9), and in the nom and ace plural, where they take the suffixes *o* or *u* or no suffix (I, 10).

Neuter nouns also take the same suffixes, as the masculines, except in the nom and ace plural, where they add the suffix *ni* (I, 3).

N B—Those suffixes which are used independently of the gender of the word Chanda indicates by the term *lingāt parasya* (I, 7, 8), unless where the fact is otherwise obvious (as in I, 3, 5).

^{*} It is one of the clumsy inconsistencies of the Revisionists of C D that they insert the word *sapta* “seven” in the commentary to sūtra I, 3. Chanda had very properly omitted it, as sūtra II, 13 shows that Prākṛit has only six cases.

In adding these suffixes, the final vowel of the base of the word may undergo the same changes of elision or sandhi as in Sanskrit (I, 3 II, 1), or it may be exchanged with other vowels (II, 4) Thus in the acc. sing *deva* + *am* = *devam* (II, 1), *aggi* + *am* = *aggam* (II, 1, 4), *dhenu* + *am* = *dhenum* (II, 1, 4 see marginal gloss on p 3), nom sing *deva* + *o* = *devo* (II, 1), *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1), inst sg *deva* + *ina* = *devena* (II, 1), *buddhi* + *e* = *buddhie* (II, 4), loc sg *deva* + *e* = *deve* (II, 1), nom acc plur *buddhi* + *o* = *buddhio* (II, 4), inst pl *deva* + *hi* = *devehi* (II, 4), loc plur *deva* + *su* = *devesu* (II, 4), etc See also the additional remarks in the Analysis of Chanda's nominal declension

Prākṛit has only three declensions, viz those ending in *a* (or feminine *ā*), *i* and *u* (or feminine in *ī* and *ū*) Nouns ending in *ī* or *ū* are generally declined like those in *i* and *u* (see, e g, I, 9), but masculines in *ī* and *ū* are nowhere especially mentioned by Chanda Nouns originally ending in a consonant either drop the final consonant or add *a* to it, so that they come under one of the three declensions in *a* or *i* or *u* (see II, 11) Nouns originally ending in *ri* are nowhere noticed by Chanda, but they would probably come under one of the three declensions by the operation of the rule II, 5, by which *ri* would change to *u* and, in some cases, to *ara* or *āra*, as in Pāli and the later Prākṛit There is one exceptional declension, viz. that of the word *go* "cattle" (II, 16)

a, Declension in *a*

The nom sing ends in *o* or *e* masc, e g, *devo* or *deve*, *ā* fem, e g, *gangā*, *am* neut, e g, *lulam*

The acc sing ends in *am* masc and neut, e g, *devam*, *lulam*, *ām* fem, e g, *gangām*

The instr sing ends in *ena* masc and neut, e g, *devena*, *lulena*, *āe* fem, e g, *gangāe*

The abl sing ends in *ā* or *āto* or *ātu* or *āhinto* masc and neut., e g, *devā* or *devāto* or *devātu* or *devāhinto*, *lulā*, etc, *āe* fem, e g, *gangae*. To these forms may be added the abl made with the suffix *to* (= Sanskrit *tah*) It is not noticed by Chanda, because it is not technically a declensional form For the same reason it is separately noticed by Kachehayana (II, 5, 1, p 116) But its existence in the Aṣṭa is guaranteed by its existence in Pāli, and by its existence in the modified form *tto* in the later Prākṛit (H C III, 8), also by the existence in the Aṣṭa itself of the pronominal forms *matto*, *tatto* (I, 24, 28)

The gen sing ends in *assa* masc and neut, e g, *devassa* Curiously enough the genitive sing of *a*-bases is nowhere noticed, unless it be indirectly taught by sūtra I, 13. The latter was the opinion of the Revisionists, and

it is possible that on that account they may have removed it from I, 3, where one would naturally expect to find it mentioned by Chanda Fem *de*, e g, *ganqúe*

The loc sing ends in *e* or *ammí* mase. and neut, e g, *deve* or *devammí*, *kule* or *kulammi*, *de fem*, e g, *gangúe*

The nom plur ends in *á* mase, e g, *devá*, *áo* or *áú* or *á fem*, e g, *gangáo*, *gangáu*, *gangá*, neut *áni* or *áni*, e g, *kulani* or *kuláni*.

The acc plur ends in *e* mase, e g *deie*, *áo* or *áú* or *á fem*, e g, *gangáo*, *gangáu*, *gangá*, *áni* or *áni* neut, e g, *kuláni* or *kuláni*

The instr. plur ends in *chi* or *chím* (II, 15) mase and neut, e g, *devechi*, or *deichim*, *kulechi* or *kulechím*, *áhi* or *áhím* fem, e g, *gangáhi* or *gangahím*

The gen plur. ends in *ána* or *áha* or *ánam* or *áham* (II, 15), e g, *devána* or *deváha* or *devánam* or *deváham*, *gangána*, etc, *kulána*, etc

The loc plur ends in *esu* or *esum* (II, 15) mase and neut, e g, *devesu* or *devesum*, *kulesu* or *kulesum*, *ásu* or *ásum* fem, e g, *gangásu* or *gangasum*

In the following scheme I have added the corresponding Sanskrit, Pali and Inter Prákrit or Arddha-Mágadhí forms for purposes of comparison

Masculines in *a*

Case	Sanskrit	Páli.	Aśha	Prákrit *
Sing Nom	देव	देवो	देवो or देवे	देवो or देवे†
Voc	दे देव	दे देव	दे देव or दे देवो	दे देव or दे देवो
Acc	देवं	देव	देव	देव
Instr	देवेन	देवेन	देवेण	देवेण
Abl	देवात्	देवा	देवा	देवा
	देवतः	देवतो	देवतो	देवतो
	—	देवतो or •वातु	देवतो or •वातु	देवाथो or •वाउ
Gen	देवस्य	देवस्स	देवस्स	देवस्स
Loc	{ देवे	देवे	देवे	देवे
	{ —	देवन्धि or •स्मि	देवन्धि	देवन्धि
Plur Nom	{ देवाः	देवा	देवा	देवा
Voc	{ —	देवा	देवा	देवा

* The forms in this column are from Hemachandra's Grammar

† Arddha-Mágadhí, see II. C IV, 287

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit
Acc	देवान्	देवे	देवे	देवा or देवे
Instr	देवै.	देवेभि or देवेहि	देवेहि or °हिं	देवहि or हिं or °हिं
Abl	{ देवेभ्यः	देवेभि or हि	देवेहितो	देवेहितो or °सुतो
	{ —	—	—	देवाहितो or °सुतो
Gen	{ देवाना	देवान	देवाण or देवाण	देवाण or देवाण
	{ —	—	देवाह or °ह	देवाह or °ह
Loc	देवेषु	देवेषु	देवेषु or °सु	देवेषु or °सु

Feminines in ā

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	गगा	गगा	गगा	गगा
Voc	गगे	गगे	गगा or गगे	गगा or गगे
Acc	गगा	गग	गगा	गगं
Instr	गगाया	गगाय (or loc गगाय)	गगाए	गगाए or ०इ or ०छ*
Abl	गगाया*			
Gen				
Loc				
Plur. Nom	गगाः	गगा	गगा	गगा
Voc		गगायो	गगाओ or गगाउ	गगाओ or गगाउ
Acc				
Instr	गगाभिः	गंगाभि or गगाहि	गगाहि or हि	गगाहि or ०हि or ०हिं
Abl	गगाभ्य.	गगाभि or गगाहि	गगाहितो	गगाहितो or ०सुतो
Gen	गगाना	गंगानं	गगाण or गगाण	गगाण or गगाण
	—	—	गगाह or ०ह	गगाह or ०ह
Loc	गगासु	गगासु	गंगासु or ०सु	गगासु or ०सु

* Or abl. = abl. masc, exc. the forms in ā and āhi, see H O III, 126, 127

Neuters in *a*

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āishā.	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	कुलं	कुल	कुलं	कुलं
Acc				
Voc	कुल	कुल	कुल	कुल
Plur Nom	कुलानि	कुलानि or कुला	कुलानि or ०णि	कुलाणि or ०लाइ or ०लाई
Voc				
Acc				

The remainder like masc. in *a*

b, Declensions in *i* and *u*

These two are treated alike, *mutatis mutandis*, thus —

The nom sing ends in *i* and *u*, e. g, masc *aggi*, *guru*, fem *buddhi*, *dheni*, neut *dahi*, *mahu*

The acc sing ends in *im* and *um*, e. g, masc *aggim*, *gurum*, fem. *buddhim*, *dhenum*, neut. *dahim*, *mahum*

The insti sing ends in *inā* and *unā* masc and neut, e. g, *agginā*, *guruna* and *dahinā*, *mahunā*, *ie* and *ue* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The abl sing. ends in *ino* and *uno* masc. and neut, e. g, *aggino*, *guruno* and *dahino*, *mahuno*, *ie* and *ue* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē* There is also the quasi-abl in *ito* and *uto*, e. g, *aggito*, *guri to*, etc

The gen sing ends in *ino* or *issa* and *uno* or *ussa* masc and neut, e. g, *aggino* or *aggissa*, *guruno* or *guri issa* and *dahino* or *dahissa*, *mahuno* or *mahissa*, *ie* and *ue* fem., e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The loc sing ends in *immi* and *ummi* masc and neut., e. g, *aggimmi*, *gurummi* and *dahimmi*, *mahummi*, *ie* and *ue* fem, e. g, *buddhiē*, *dhenūē*

The nom. and acc pluri end in *ayo* or *i* or *ino* and *avo* or *u* or *uno* masc, e. g, *aggayo* or *aggi* or *aggino*, *guravo* or *guru* or *guruno*, *i* or *io* or *iu* and *u* or *uo* or *uu* fem, e. g, *buddhi* or *buddhio* or *buddhiu*, *dhenū* or *dhenūo* or *dhenūu* The neuter is not noticed, probably *ini* and *uni*, e. g, *dahini*, *mahini*, or possibly like the masculine, *dahi* or *dahino*, *mahi* or *mahuno* The masculine forms in *ayo* and *avo* are not especially noticed by Chanda, because they are too obviously the same as the Sanskrit forms in *ayah*, *avah*, and would come under his general rule I, 3 Their existence is guaranteed by the Pāli on the one side, and the later Prākṛit on the other (Vararuchi V, 16 specially notes a nom and acc form in *io* and *uo*, which is the same as *ayo* and *avo*, with *ay*, *av* contracted to *i*, *u* respectively)

The instr plur ends in *ihī* or *ihīm*, and *uhī* or *uhīm*, e g, masc *aggihī* or *aggihīm*, *guruhi* or *guruhīm*, fem *buddhihi* or *buddhihīm*, *dhenuhi* or *dhenuhīm*, neut *dakhihi* or *dakhīhīm*, *mahūhi* or *mahūhīm*

The abl plur ends in *ihinto* and *uhinto*, e g, masc *aggihinto*, *guru-hinto*, fem *buddhihinto*, *dhenuhinto*, neut *dakhinto*, *mahuhinto*

The gen plur ends in *ina* or *iha* or *inam* or *iham*, and *ūna* or *ūha* or *ūnam* or *ūham*, e g, masc *aggina* or *aggīnam* or *aggīha* or *aggīham*, *guīna* or *guīnam* or *gurūha* or *gurūham*, fem *buddhina* or *buddhīha*, etc, *dhenina* or *dhenūha*, etc, neut *dakhina* or *dakhīha*, etc, *mahina* or *mahīha*, etc

The loc plur ends in *isu* or *isum* and *usu* or *usum*, masc *aggisu* or *aggisum*, *gurusu* or *gurusum*, fem *buddhisu* or *buddhisum*, *dhenusu* or *dhenusum*, neut *dakisu* or *dakisum*, *mahusu* or *mahusum*

To the voc sing and plur the same remark applies as to the voc of the *a*-declension

Unfortunately there is not a little untrustworthiness and inconsistency in the MSS, regarding this declension. Yet with a careful combination of all indications, it is not impossible to recognise its real circumstances. The main points are four

(1) In sūtra I, 3 all MSS make the termination of the nom sing of all nouns in *i* and *u*, of whatever gender, to be *ī* and *ū*. This is almost certainly false, for (a) even in the later Prākṛit of Vṛaruehi (V, 30) and Hemachandra (III, 25) the nom sing neuter ends in short *i* and *u*, and (b) what is more important, there is no sūtra in Chanda's grammar to account for the long *ī* and *ū* of the nom sing, as compared with the short *i* and *u* of the Sanskrit. I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension that Chanda enumerates in sūtra I, 3 all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding Sanskrit forms (*samskr̥itavad vibhaktayah*), excepting so far as they are modified by the general phonetic laws of the Prākṛit. Now by sūtra II, 10 the visarga of the Sanskrit nominative singular termination *ih* or *uh* is omitted, but there is no sūtra anywhere in Chanda to enjoin the lengthening of the resultant short *i* or *u*. Hence it is very probable, that in Chanda's Prākṛit the nominative singular ended in *i*, and similarly in *u*. But further, the probability is strongly confirmed by a curious undesigned coincidence. In sūtra II, 5 there occurs the word *rishih*, the Prākṛit form of which in all MSS is given as *isi* (not *isī*), again in that very sūtra II, 10 one example is *ati*, as all MSS read, for Skr *vr̥tīh**, again in sūtra II, 17 we have *mati* and *gati*, with all MSS (exc B). Thus the inconsistency of the Revisionists brings out the truth! Pāli, which Chanda's Prākṛit resembles in so many

* Not = Skr *patih*, as C D have it, but = Skr *vr̥tīh*

ways, affords a further confirmation of the truth, for there the nom. sing also ends in *z* and *u* (see Minayef, pp 64, 66, 69) Accordingly I have restored the short *z* and *u* in the nom sing throughout

(2) It is very similar with the instr, abl, and loc plural Here all MSS read long *ī* and *ū* before the suffixes *hi*, *hinto* and *su* But as Chanda has no sūtra to enjoin the lengthening of *z* and *u*, it is probable that in his Prākṛit they were not long, as in the later Prākṛit, but short, as (optionally) in Pāli (see Minayef *ibid*, also Kuhn, pp 79, 81, 82) The fact that Chanda places the forms of the instr and loc plural under sūtra I, 3, which enumerates whatever in declension was like Sanskrit, tends in the same direction, and it is further curiously confirmed by his excluding the abl plural from sūtra I, 3 Suppose, e g, that *aggīhi*, *aggīhinto* and *aggīsu* be correct forms, if so, all three forms would have to be excluded from sūtra I, 3, as they are all *unlike* Sanskrit on account of their long *ī*, but let the forms be *aggīh*, *aggīhinto*, *aggīsu*, then only *aggīhinto* is unlike Skr *agnibhyah*, on account of *hinto*, and must be excluded from I, 3, whereas *aggīhi* is like Skt *agnibhih* (*h* being dropped by II, 10 and *bh* becoming *h* by III, 13) and *aggīsu* like Skr *agnishu* (*sh* becoming *s* by III, 18), hence these two forms will come under I, 3 This is precisely what we find Chanda to have actually done, it follows that his premises must have been what we have supposed them to have been Accordingly I have restored the short *z* throughout in those three cases *

In confirmation of the above reasoning it should be noticed, that whenever the short *z* and *u* are really lengthened to *ī* and *ū* in Chanda's Prākṛit, as in the instr, abl, gen and loc singular and nom and acc plural of feminine nouns, the change is expressly enjoined by Chanda, by sūtra II, 4, where he gives the two examples *buddhie*, *dhenūe* (not *buddhiē*, *dhenue*)

(3) The acc singular of feminine nouns in *ī* and *ū*, as well as of feminine nouns in *ā*, has a long termination, thus *gāṅām*, *naīm*, *vaīm* The MSS, on the whole, are decisive on this point For though C and D read *gāṅam* in I, 3, B reads *gāṅām* (A omits it), on the other hand C and D read *naīm* in I, 3 (A B omit it) This is the more noteworthy, as not only the later Prākṛit, but even Pāli (see Minayef, pp 64, 67, 70) have the short termination, so that, if the long termination in Chanda were due to the Revisionists, they would have acted contrary to their usual instincts of conforming to the later Prākṛit, and this strongly makes for the genuineness of the long terminations. The fact, that Chanda enumerates them under

* Perhaps no great stress can be laid on the fact that in MS D the short *z* and *u* occur three times, viz. *buddhiham*, *gūḥam* in I, 3 and *gūḥinto* in I, 8 They may be mere clerical errors.

sūtra I, 3, makes in the same direction, for if they had been short, they would have been too *unlike* Sanskrit to be noticed in that sūtra. Another evidence in the same direction is the fact, that in sūtra II, 16, where Chanda gives the declension of the noun *gāvi* "cow", the two MSS C D again read *gāvīm* in the acc sing (A B omit it), this carries all the more weight, as it is again an undesigned coincidence. Lastly there is another striking evidence, in the personal pronouns, which also preserve the Sanskritic long termination in their acc sing *tvaṁ* or *tām* and *mām* (see remarks, p xlv)

(4) All MSS assign a locative singular in *e* to the nouns in *i* and *u*, thus *aggie*, *gurue*. That this is false, and rests on a misconception by the Revisionists of the intention of sūtra I, 14, I shall show afterwards in the Analysis of Chanda's rules on nominal declension. Accordingly I have omitted these spurious forms

Masculines in *i*

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Kāśha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नी
Voc	अग्ने	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नी or अग्नि
Acc	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नि	अग्नि
Instr	अग्निना	अग्निना	अग्निणा	अग्निणा
Abl	अग्ने	अग्निना	अग्निणे	अग्निणे
		अग्निस्मा or अग्नि	—	अग्नीहितो
	अग्निन	अग्निनो	अग्निनो	अग्निनो
		—	—	अग्नीषो 01 अग्नीष
Gen	अग्ने	अग्निनो or अग्नि	अग्निणे or अग्नि	अग्निणे 01 अग्निस्स
Loc	अग्नी	अग्निस्सि 01 अग्नि	अग्निस्मि	अग्निस्मि
Plur Nom	अग्नय	अग्गयो	अग्गयो	अग्नीषो or अग्नीष
	—	अग्नी	अग्नी	अग्नी
	—	—	अग्निणे	अग्निणे
Voc	—	—	—	—
Acc	अग्नीन्	like nom	like nom	like nom
Instr	अग्निभि	अग्निभि 01 अग्नि	अग्निदि 01 अग्नि	—
		अग्नीभि or अग्नि	—	अग्नीदि 01 अग्नि

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Abl	अग्निभ्य	{ अग्निमि or °हि अग्नीमि cr °हि	अग्निहितो —	— अग्नीहितो 01 °सुतो
Gen	अग्नीना	अग्नीन	{ अग्नीणं or °ण अग्नीह or °ह	अग्नीण 01 °ण (<i>deest</i>)*
Loc	अग्निषु	{ अग्निषु अग्नीषु	अग्निषु or °सु —	— अग्नीषु or °सु

Feminines in 2

Case.	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	बुद्धिः	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धी
Voc	बुद्धे	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि or बुद्धी
Acc	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि	बुद्धि
Instr	बुद्ध्या	{ बुद्धिया (abl loc also बुद्ध्या, loc बुद्धिय, बुद्ध्या, बुद्धि, बुद्धो)	बुद्धीए	{ बुद्धीए or बुद्धीइ बुद्धीआ or बुद्धीअ
Abl	बुद्ध्याः or			
Gen.	बुद्धेः			
Loc	{ बुद्ध्या or बुद्धी			
Plur Nom	{ बुद्ध्य.	{ बुद्धी	बुद्धी	बुद्धी
Voc		बुद्धियो	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ	बुद्धीओ or बुद्धीउ
Acc	बुद्धीः	like nom	like nom	like nom
Instr	बुद्धिभिः	{ बुद्धिभि or °हि बुद्धीभि 01 °हि	बुद्धिहि or °हि —	— बुद्धीहि or °हि
Abl	बुद्धिभ्यः	{ बुद्धिभि or °हि बुद्धीभि or °हि	बुद्धिहितो —	— बुद्धीहितो or °सुता
Gen.	बुद्धीना	बुद्धीनं	{ बुद्धीण or °ण बुद्धीहं 01 °ह	बुद्धीण or °ण (<i>deest</i>)*

Case	Sanskrit	Páli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Loc	बुद्धिषु	बुद्धिस्स बुद्धीस्स	बुद्धिस्स or सु —	— बुद्धीस्स or ०सुं

Neuters in ३

Case	Sanskrit	Páli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	दधि	दधि	दहि (acc दहि)	दहि or दहि or दहिं (voc only दहि)
Plur do	दधीनि	दधी or दधीनि	दहीनि or ०णि	दहीणि or दहीइ or दहीई

The remainder, like masculines in ३

Masculines in ३

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु
Voc	गुरो	गुरु	गुरु	गुरु or गुरु
Acc	गुरुं	गुरु	गुरुं	गुरु
Instr	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा	गुरुणा
Abl	गुरो	गुरुणा	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्मा or ०न्हा	—	गुरुच्चितो
	गुरुत	गुरुतो	गुरुतो	गुरुत्तो
Gen	गुरो	गुरुणो	गुरुणो	गुरुणो
		गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स	गुरुस्स
Loc	गुरौ	गुरुस्मि or ०न्दि	गुरुस्मि	गुरुस्मि
Plur Nom	गुरुव	गुरुवो	गुरुवो	गुरुवो or गुरुओ or ०उ
Voc		गुरु	गुरु	गुरु
		गुरुणो*	गुरुणो	गुरुणो

* Like अतुली, see Murray, p 69

Case	Sanskrit	Páli	Aísha.	Prákrit
Instr	गुरुभिः	गुरुभि or ०दि *	गुरुदि 01 ०दिं	—
		गुरुभि 01 ०दि	—	गुरुदि 01 ०दिं
Abl.	गुरुभ्यः	गुरुभि or ०दि	गुरुदितो	—
		गुरुभि 01 ०दि	—	गुरुदितो 01 ०दुंतो
Gen.	गुरुणा	गुरुणं	गुरुण 01 गुरुण	गुरुण or गुरुण
			गुरुद 01 गुरुद	deest†
Loc	गुरुषु	गुरुसु	गुरुसु 01 ०सु	—
		गुरुसु	—	गुरुसु 01 ०सुं

Feminines in ॥.

Case.	Sanskrit.	Páli	Aísha.	Prákrit
Sing Nom.	घेनुः	घेनु	घेनु	घेणू
Voc	घेनो	घेनु	घेनु	घेणु 01 घेणू
Acc	घेनुं	घेनुं	घेनुं	घेणु
Instr	घेन्वा	घेनुया	घेनूर	घेणूर or घेणूइ घेणूआ or घेणूअ
Abl } Gen }	घेन्वा or घेनोः			
Loc	घेन्वा 01 घेनौ			
Plur Nom	घेनव	घेनू	घेनू	घेणू
Voc.		घेनुघो	घेनूओ or घेनूउ	घेणूओ or घेणूउ
Acc	घेनू.	like nom	like nom	like nom
Insti	घेनुभिः	घेनुभि or ०दि	घेनुदि or ०दि	—
		घेनूभि 01 ०दि	—	घेणूदि 01 ०दिं
Abl	घेनुभ्यः	घेनुभि 01 ०दि	घेनुदितो	—
		घेनूभि or ०दि	—	घेणूदितो or ०दुंतो
Gen	घेनूनां	घेनून	घेनूण 01 घेनूण	घेणूण 01 घेणूण
			घेनूद 01 घेनूद	deest†

* Like जतुदि, see Kuhn, p. 82

† See H C IV, 300

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit
Loc	घेनुपु	{ घेनसु घेनूसु	घेनुसु ०१ ०सु —	— घेनुसु ०१ ०सु

Neuters in *u*

Case	Sanskrit.	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	मधु	मधु	मड (acc मड)	मड or मड or मड (voc मड)
Plur do	मधूनि	मधू or मधूनि	मड्ढनि or ०णि	मड्ढणि or मड्ढ or मड्ढ

The remainder, like masculines in *u*

Masculine nouns in *i* and *ū* are generally declined like those in *z* and *u*, excepting the nom sing which ends in *i* or *ū* respectively.*

Feminine nouns in *i* and *ū* are declined like those in *z* and *u*, excepting, of course, that they have long *i* and *ū* wherever the latter have short *z* and *u*

Feminines in *z*

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit.
Sing Nom	नदी	नदी	नई	नई
Voc	नदि	नदि	नइ	नइ
Acc	नदी	नदि or नदियं	नई	नइ
Plur Instr	नदीभिः	नदीभि or ०दि	नईदि or ०दि	नईदि or ०दि
Abl	नदीभ्यः	नदीभि or ०दि	नईदितो	नईदितो or ०सुतो
Loc.	नदीषु	नदीसु	नईसु or ०सु	नईसु or नईसु

The remainder, as in feminines in *z*

Feminines in *ū*

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit
Sing Nom.	वधू	वधू	वह	वह
Voc	वधु	वधु	वड	वड
Acc.	वधू	वधु	वह	वड

* Thus *nanī* I, 24, *nasī* III, 18, *savannū* in C D III, 6

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit
Plur Inst	वधूमि.	वधूमि ० ०दि	वद्धदि or ०दि	वद्धदि ० ०दि
Abl	वधूमः	वधूमि or ०दि	वद्धदितो	वद्धदितो or ०सुतो
Loc	वधूषु	वधूसु	वद्धसु ० ०सु	वद्धसु or ०सु

The remainder, as in feminines in *u*

The declension of the noun *go* "cow".

The declension of this noun is given in *sūtra* II, 16. It is not really an irregularly declined noun. The fact is, the Sanskrit word *go* is *generis communis*. The Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākṛit), however, have formed separate words for the two genders, viz., *gāvo* masc and *gāvī* fem. The declension of the latter is given in II, 16, and it is quite regular, like that of *naī* "river"

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha.	Prākṛit
Sing Nom	(गौ.)	गाव्री*	गावी	गावी ० १ गार्द†
Acc	(गा)	गावि	गावी	गार्द
Plur Nom	(गाव.)	गाविद्यो*	गावीद्यो ० ०ड	गावीद्यो† ० १ गार्दद्यो
Acc				० १ गार्दड गार्द

The remainder, like feminines in *i*

6, PRONOUNS

a, Personal Pronouns

The original forms of the base of this pronoun are *म* and *अहम्* (= Sanskrit *अहम्*), of which, in Sanskrit, the former belongs to the singular and the latter to the plural. In the Vernaculars (Pāli, Prākṛit), however, this distinction is not strictly observed. Moreover there are some by-forms of the base, viz., *mama*, *mayha*, *maha*, *mayyha*. The last two, which occur in the Āśha, are, probably, mere modifications of *mayha* which occurs in Pāli

* *Gāvī* nom sing in Kuhn, p 85, and *gāvīyo* nom plur in Childers, p 145, and *gāvī* in Kachch II, 1, 23 (Senart, p 44)

† *Gāvī* in II. C. II, 174 and *gāt* in H. C. I, 158 and *gāvīo* in H. C. II, 174.

and, in the form *mahya*, in Sanskrit. In the *Āishā* these by-forms occur only in a few isolated cases, but in the later *Prākrit* they have a nearly regular declension.

The *Ārsha*, also, has an indeclinable form *bhe*, which may be used for any of the six cases (II, 27). Hemachandra (III, 106) allows it only in the acc plural. It is probably a modification of *mhe*, curtailed from *amhe*.

Declension

Cases	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha.	Prākrit
Sing Nom	{ अह	अह	अहं	अह 01 अहय
	{ —	—	—	अहि or अम्नि
Acc	{ मा	मं	मा	म
	{ —	मम	—	मम or मिस, etc
Inst	{ मया	मया	मए	मए or मद
	{ —	—	मे	मे 01 मि
	{ —	—	—	ममए, etc.
Abl	मत्	{ मया	मइत्तो	मइत्तो
		{ —	—	ममत्तो or ममादो, etc.
		{ —	—	मइत्तो or मइादो, etc
		{ —	—	मज्झत्तो or मज्झादो, [etc
Gen	{ मे	मे	मे	मे, etc
	{ मम	मम or मस	मम	मम
	{ —	—	मह	मह or महं
	{ —	महं	मज्झ	मज्झा 01 मज्झ
Loc	{ अह	अह	—	अह 01 अह
	{ मयि	मयि	मयि	मइ, etc
	{ —	—	—	ममम्नि
	{ —	—	—	मइम्नि
	{ —	—	—	मज्झम्नि
				अहम्नि

Case.	Sanskrit.	Pāli.	Ārsha	Prākṛit
Plur Nom.	{ वयं	मयं	वयं	वयं
	{ —	अम्हे	अम्हे	अम्हे 01 अम्हो or अम्ह
Acc	{ अस्मान्	अम्हे (01 अम्हाक)	अम्हे	अम्हे or अम्हो or अम्ह
	{ नः	नो	नो	णे
Instr	अस्माभिः	अम्हेमि or ०हि	अम्हेहि 01 ०हिं	{ अम्हेहि or ०हि अम्हाहि or ०हि, etc
Abl	{ अस्मात्	अम्हेमि or ०हि	अम्हेहितो or	(अम्हेहितो?) 01 ०हुंतो
		—	अम्ह चित्तो	अम्हाचित्तो 01 ०हुंतो
		—	—	(ममेहितो?) 01 ०हुंतो
		—	—	ममाहितो or ०हुंतो
Gen	{ नः	नो	नो	णो or ए
	{ अस्माकं	अस्माकं or अम्हाकं	अम्हाण or ०ण	अम्हाण 01 ए
	{ —	—	अम्हाहं 01 ०ह	अम्हाहं
	{ —	—	—	ममाणं or ०ण
	{ —	—	—	महाण 01 ०ण
	{ —	—	—	महभाणं 01 ०ण
	{ —	अम्ह	अम्ह	अम्ह 01 अम्ह
	{ अम्हासु	अम्हेसु	अम्हेसु 01 ०सु	अम्हेसु or अम्हसु
Loc	{ —	—	—	ममेसु or ममसु
	{ —	—	—	महेसु 01 महसु
	{ —	—	—	महमेसु or महमसु ,
	{ —	—	—	also अम्हासु 01 ०सु, [etc

b, Second Personal Pronoun.

The original bases of this pronoun are *tva* or *ta* and *tumha* (Sanskrit *yushma*) In Sanskrit they belong to the singular and plural respectively, but in the Vernaculars (Pāli and Prākṛit) the distinction is not strictly observed. There are, moreover, the following by-forms of the base

tu or *tava* or *tuva* or *tuma* and *tuyha* or *tuha* or *tuygha* or *tubbha* or *tumbha*
The first four are probably modifications of *tva*, and the others, of *tumha*
The Aīsha possesses most of these by-forms, though they occur only in
isolated cases, absent are only *tu*, *tuva*, *tuyha* In the later Prākṛit, however,
they are capable of almost regular declension

The Arsha possesses also an indeclinable form *bhe* which may be used
in any of the six cases (II, 26) Hemachandra confines its use to the
instrumental singular and to the nominative, accusative, instrumental and
genitive plural (H C III, 94, 91, 98, 95, 100)

The second personal pronoun in Chanda's Prākṛit is especially deserving
of notice, as some of its forms bear a striking witness to its antiquity.
I mean the forms of the nom acc and loc sing, which, just as in Pāli,
may optionally preserve the initial conjunct *tv* The MSS are on this point
in considerable confusion, owing to the, perhaps, natural mistake of the
Revisionists, that these were the Sanskrit equivalents of the Prākṛit forms
This can be very clearly shown in regard to the accusative case The
readings are the following

A त्वा । मा । त ॥

B त्वा । मा । त । म ॥

C त्वा । मा । तं । म ॥

D त्वा । त । मा । म ॥

A has nearly preserved the original reading, as I shall presently show.
The Revisionists, mistaking *tvām* and *mām* for Sanskrit, were naturally
surprised to miss in A the corresponding form *मं*, so they quietly added *म* in
B and C Next noticing that these four forms did not observe their proper
order, they change the latter to *tvam*, *tam*, *mām*, *mam* in D This no doubt
is the correct order, provided that *tvām* and *mām* are really Sanskrit* But
the truth is that they are not Sanskrit Indeed, one of the indications that
they are not Sanskrit, is the very fact of the absence of that order in A B C
On the other hand, on the supposition that they are not Sanskrit, but Prākṛit,
it will at once appear that the reading of A does observe the proper order,
moreover it will also be seen, why A omits *mam* The order of the forms
of the nom plural (*vayam*, *tuhme*, *ahme*) clearly shows Chanda's method
Vayam is a tatsama, *tuhme* and *ahme* are tadbhavas, the tatsama form cor-
responding to *vayam* is *yūyam*, but that does not exist in Prākṛit Chanda's
method, evidently, is to give firstly the tatsama forms, afterwards the
tadbhava Applying this key to the explanation of accusative singular forms,

* It is well known, that native Grammarians, when treating of "persons" or
"personal" pronouns do not commence, as we do, with the first person and then proceed
to the second and third, but they begin at the other end Hence with them the second
personal pronoun always precedes the first Hence the change in D to *tvām tam, mam mam*.

we find that *tvām*, *mām* is the tatsama pair, the tadbhava pair should be *tām*, *mām*, but *mām* is not a tadbhava, hence it is omitted in the second pair, and the result is *tvām*, *mām*, *tām*. That *tām* must be the genuine reading is sufficiently clear from the above argument, if *tām* were the genuine reading, the omission of the corresponding form *mām* would be unaccountable, while if *tām* was the original reading, its change into *tam* by the first Revisionist can be easily accounted for by his taking *tvām* for Sanskrit and *tām* for (what it undoubtedly would be in that case) an erroneous Prākṛit spelling. But if *tvām* is a Prākṛit tatsama, its immediate tadbhava is *tām*, not *tam*. And there is thus to be said for the form *tām*, that it agrees with the general law of Chanda's Piākṛit, of preserving the long termination in the acc singular (see the remarks on p xxxvii). Moreover if *tam* were the real form, it could hardly have been noticed by Chanda under sūtra I, 3, as it would be too unlike Sanskrit *tvām* to be fairly called a *saṃskṛitavad vibhakti*. It would, no doubt, have had a special sūtra assigned to it, as indeed is done by the Revisionist authors of C D (in I, 20) who seem to have felt a little the inconsistency of their changing *tām* into *tam*. It being thus established, that *tvām* is the tatsama form of the acc singular, there is little difficulty in adjusting the forms of the nom and loc singular. The tatsama forms of the former are *tvam*, *aham*, the tadbhava is *tam*, which is not mentioned in sūtra I, 3, but occurs incidentally in other sūtras (e g in II, 18). The tatsama locatives are *tvayī*, *mayī*, the tadbhava is *tayī*. There are, of course, no tadbhava forms of *aham* and *mayī*.

Declension.

Case.	Sanskrit	Pāli	Ārsha	Piākṛit.
Nom	{ त्व	त्वं	त्व or त	त or तु
	{ —	तुव	तुम	तुव or तुमं
	{ —	—	—	तुह
Acc.	{ त्वा	त्व or त	त्वा or ता	त or तु
	{ —	तव or तुव	तुमं	तुव or तुम
	{ —	—	—	तुह
	{ —	—	तुए	तुए or तुमे
Instr	{ त्वया	त्वया or तया	तए or तद्	तए or तद्
	{ —	—	ते or तुमे	ते or तुमे
	{ —	—	—	तुमए or तुमद्

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āśha	Prākṛit.
Abl	त्वत्	तया or तया	तइतो	तइतो
		—	तुमातो	तुमत्तो or तुमात्तो
		—	तुमाहिंतो or ०हि	तुमाहितो or ०हि
		—	—	तुवत्तो or तुवात्तो, etc
		—	—	तुहत्तो or तुहात्तो, etc
		—	—	तुन्मत्तो or तुन्मात्तो, etc
		—	—	तुम्हत्तो or तुम्हात्तो etc [etc
		—	—	तुवम्मात्तो or तुवम्मात्तो
Gen	ते तव — — — — —	ते	ते	ते or दे or दि or ए or इ
		तव	तव	तुव or तुम, etc
		—	तुह	तुह or तुह
		—	तुवम्मा	तुम्मा or उवम्मा
		तुम्ह	तुम्ह	तुम्ह or उम्ह or तुम्ह
		तुम्ह	—	उम्ह
		—	—	तुन्म or उन्म
		—	—	तइ or तुम्मि, etc
Loc.	त्वयि — — — — — —	त्वयि or तयि	त्वयि or तयि	तुम्मे or तुमम्मि or तुवम्मि
		—	—	तुहम्मि
		—	—	तुवम्माम्मि
		—	—	तुम्हम्मि
		—	—	तुन्मम्मि
		—	—	—
		—	—	—
		—	—	—
Plur Nom	यूय	तुम्हे	तुम्हे or तुम्मे	तुम्हे or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्हे or उम्हे
		—	—	तुवम्मे
		—	—	तुम्मे or तुम्म

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Āisha	Prākṛit
	व.	वो	वो	वो
Acc	यस्मान्	तुम्हे (01 तुम्हाक)	तुम्हे	तुम्हे
		—	तुम्हे	तुम्हे 01 तुम्भ
		—	—	तुम्हे 01 उम्हे
		—	—	तुजम्हे
Inst	युस्माभि	तुम्हेभि 01 •हि	तुम्हेहि or •हि	तुम्हेहि 01 उम्हेहि
		—	(तुम्हेहि 01 •हि?)	तुम्हेहि 01 उम्हेहि
		—	—	तुम्हेहिं 01 उम्हेहि
		—	—	तुजम्हेहि
Abl	युस्मत्	तुम्हेभि 01 •हि	तुम्हेहितो	तुम्हेहितो 01 •सुतो*
		—	—	तुम्हाहितो 01 •सुतो
		—	—	तुम्हे• or तुम्भा•, etc.
		—	—	तुम्हे• 01 तुम्हा•*, etc
		—	—	तुजम्हे• or तुजम्भा•, etc
	य.	वो	वो	वो
Gen	यस्माक	तुम्हाक	तुम्हाणं 01 •ण	तुम्हाणं 01 •ण
		—	तुम्हाहि 01 •हि	तुम्हाहि
		—	—	तुम्हाण 01 •ण
		—	—	तुम्भाण 01 •ण
		—	—	तुजम्भाण 01 •ण
		तुम्ह	—	तुम्ह or तुम्ह
		—	—	तुम्भ 01 तुम्भ
		—	—	तुजम्भ or तुजम्भ

* Also उम्हेहितो or •सुतो, उम्हाहितो or •सुतो, उम्हेहितो 01 •सुतो, उम्हाहितो or •सुतो।

Case	Sanskrit	Pāli	Aśīha	Prākṛit
Loc	दुष्कास	तुहेसु	तुहेसु ०। ०सु	तुहेसु ०। तुहसु*
		—	—	तुमेसु or तुमसु
		—	—	तुवेसु or तुवसु
		—	—	तुहेसु ०। तुहसु
		—	—	तुन्मेसु ०। तुन्मसु
		—	—	तुज्जेसु ०। तुज्जसु
		—	—	तुसु

b, Demonstrative Pronouns

These are *tad*, *etad* and *īdam*. Their declensional bases are *ta*, *eta* and *īma* respectively. They are regularly declined, like nouns in *a*. Of the regular forms of *tad* the following are mentioned by Chandra, nom sing neuter *tam* (II, 17), nom plur masc *te* (I, 31), inst, abl, gen, loc sing fem *tā* (I, 9), gen plur com gen *tānam* or *tāham* (I, 5). Moreover the following irregular forms are noticed, nom sing masc *sa* (II, 17, Skr *sa*), fem *sā* (II, 1, Skr *sā*), abl sing fem *tassā* (B C D, I, 3, Skr *tasyāḥ*), gen sing or plur com gen *se* (I, 17), gen plur masc or neut *tesam* (Skr *tesāṃ*) or *tesum* (I, 3), loc sing masc or neut *tasmim* (Skr. *tasmīn*) or *tamhi* (B C D, I, 3). All these anomalous forms are relics from the Sanskrit, excepting the genitive *se*. They also occur in Pāli, excepting the genitive general *se* and the genitive plural *tesum* (see Minayef's Pāli Grammar, pp 83—85). There are also evidences of the existence of an irregular feminine base *tī* or *tī*, viz, inst, abl, gen, loc sing *tīe* (I, 9) and abl sing *tissā* (B C D, I, 3).

Of the base *eta*, the only forms noticed are the Sanskritic nom sing masc *esa* (II, 10) and the anomalous gen general *se* (I, 17).

Of the base *īma*, only the regular form *īmā* of the nom sing fem (II, 1) and the anomalous form *se* of the genitive general (I, 17) are mentioned.

c, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns.

The bases are *ja* and *ka*, which are declined regularly, like nouns in *a*. There are only three forms, however, noticed in Chandra, viz, the irregular Sanskritic abl sing masc or neut *jamhā* (III, 23) of the relative pronoun

* Also तुहसु, तमसु, तुवसु, तुहसु, तुज्जसु, तुन्मसु, also every form with final ०सु

and the irregular Sanskritie nom singular neuter *līṃ* (I, 23) and the regular gen plural *lanam* or *lāham* (II, 15) of the interrogative pronoun

d, Pronominal Adjectives

The pronouns of quantity are *tāva* "so much", *jāva* "as much" (II, 21), for Sanskrit *tāvat*, *yāvat*, throwing off, as usual (see II, 11) the final consonant *t*. Besides *tāva* there also occurs the anomalously shortened form *tā* (but not *jā*, for *jāva*). The Pāli has only *tāva*, *jāva*, but not *tā* (see Childers, pp 500, 599). The later Prākṛit has both pairs complete, *tāva* and *jāva*, *tā* and *jā* (H C I, 271). Pāli has also a form *jūvaṃ* (apparently really a nom sing, like *mahaṃ*, *bhavaṃ*), the Aīsha probably had both *tāvaṃ* and *jūvaṃ*, at least they occur in the Jaina Prākṛit of the Bhagavatī (see Weber's *Fragment*, p 257).

There is also mentioned the interrogative pronominal adjective, nom. sing mase, *katare* "which of two" (II, 10, Skt *katarah*).

7, NUMERALS

The declension of the numerals is not noticed at all by Chanda, with the exception of the genitive plural, which ends in *uham* (I, 6). From this fact, however, it may be concluded, that, in all other respects, the declension of numerals was regular and followed that of nouns. That is to say, that *ekā* "one", *pañcha* "five", and all others, ending in *a*, were declined like nouns in *a* (e g, *deva*), *dvī* "two" (Skt. *dvi*) and *tri* "three" (Skt *tri*), like nouns in *i* (e g, *agṛi*), and *chatu* "four" (Skt *chatur*), like nouns in *u* (e g, *guru*). It is probable, however, that the nominative and accusative of the second and fourth numerals were taken directly from the Sanskrit, viz, *do* or *duve* or *ve* (Skr *dvan*, *dve*, Pāli *dva*, *duve*, Prākṛit *do*, *duve*, *ve*, *donni*, *venni*) "two", *chattāro* (acc also *chattūro*), *chattasso*, *chattāri* (so also in Pāli, Skt *chatvārah*, *chaturah*, *chatasrah*, *chatvāri*, Prāk *chattāro*, *chauri* or *chattāri*) "four".

The following cardinal numerals are mentioned incidentally

- 6 *chha* (III, 14), Skt *ṣaṭ*, Pā *chha*, Prāk *chha*
- 10 *daha* (III, 14), Skt *dasa*, Pā *dasa*, Pr *dasa* or *daha*
- 13 *teiaha* (III, 22, 31) Skt *trayodasa*, Pā *teiaha* or *telaha*, Pī *teiaha*
- 16 *solasa* (III, 21), Skt *ṣoḍasa*, Pā *solasa*, Pī *solaha* (?)
- 20 *visā* (III, 32), Skt *viṃśati*, Pā *visati* or *visaṃ*, Pī *visā*
- 30 *tisā* (I, 6), Skt *triṃśat*, Pā *tiṃśati* or *tisaṃ*, Pī *tisā*
- 50 *panuā* (III, 32), Skt *pañcāśat*, Pā *paññāsaṃ*, Pī *paunāsa*
- 55 *pauapannasa* (III, 33), Skt. *pañchapañcāśat*, Pā *pañchapaññāsa*, Pī *pauavauā*.

The following numerals are also mentioned, viz —

6th *ohhattho* (III, 26), Skr *shashṭhah*, Pā *ohhattho* or *satttho* (Kacheh p 200), Pr *ohhattho*
 "6 fold" *chhakham* (III, 3), Skr *shatṣam*, Pā *ohhakham*, Pr *chhakham*

8, THE VERB

Chandra's Grammar takes no formal notice of the conjugation of the Verb. Incidentally, however, not a little information is supplied, and that shows that, on the whole, the conjugation did not differ much from its Sanskrit prototype, so far at least as the ordinary tenses are concerned. The difference does not appear to have been greater than that between the Pāli and Sanskrit.

The old Prākṛit, like the Pāli and Sanskrit, had parasmaipada and ātmanepada forms, thus parasm *gacchhati* "he goes" (II, 4), ātm *najjate* "it is known" (III, 25). These two examples also show the existence of the active and passive voices. The MSS vary a good deal in their spelling (see the *var lect*), sometimes all give the ending *e* of the ātmanepada (e g, *vijjate* in III, 11), sometimes only one or the other (e g, *disate* in II, 5. *najjate* in III, 25), while the rest give the termination *z* of the parasmaipada. I have preferred restoring uniformly the ātmanepada ending, as it has undoubtedly the support of antiquity and because Chandra has no sūtra to allow for the change of the ātmanepada into the parasmaipada. That change became almost universal in later Prākṛit, its beginnings are already to be found in Pāli (Kacheh III, 4, 37 p 263), and it may have occasionally occurred in the Aśva, it certainly *did* occur in the Aśva in the present participle, where it is enjoined by an especial sūtra (II, 25), but the absence of any such sūtra with reference to the tenses seems to show that the change did not yet affect the latter.

There was no dual, as sūtra II, 12 shows. The examples are all taken from the noun, but if the noun had no dual, the verb is not likely to have had it.

With regard to the three persons, examples occur of all three, both in the singular and plural, but only in the present and imperative tenses. Thus present tense 1st sing *bhanāmi* (I, 20 22), *vommi* (III, 3), 2nd sing *si* "thou art" (II, 18), 3rd sing *eti* (I, 12), *acchhati* (II, 1), *gucchhati* (II, 4 10), *bhāti* (II, 22), *hoti* (III, 31), *havati* (III, 39), 1st plur *bhanāmo* (II, 27), 3rd plur *jalanṭi* (I, 12). Again imperative tense, 2nd sing *passa* "see thou" (I, 12), 3rd sing *rakkhatu* (I, 3), 2nd plur *nisāmetha* (II, 26), 3rd plur *akkhantū* (I, 4).

These examples also show traces of the existence of verbal classes. Thus *bhavati*, *jalanṭi* (Skr *jvalanti*), etc. are of the 1st class, *eti*, *bhāti*, *vommi*

(Skr *vachmi*) of the IInd class, *lyjante* (Skr *lyante*) is of the IVth class, *nisámetha* (Skr *nisámayata*) of the Xth class

The passive may be formed in two ways, either by assimilating the suffix *ya* to the preceding consonant, or by changing it to *ya* if preceded by a vowel, or to *yya* if preceded by a consonant (III, 25) Thus 3rd sing pres *disate* for Skr *disyate* "it is seen" (II, 5), *dajjhate* for Skr *dahyate* "it is burnt" (III, 1), again *najjate* for Skr *jñáyate* "it is known" (III, 25), *váhjyate* for Skr *vádhyate* "he is troubled" (III, 25) *

The causal is formed by means of the suffix *e*, as in the 2nd plur. imper *nisámetha* for Skr *nisámayata*

As to the participles, see the following section

Conjugation of *bhan* "speak"

Present tense

Person	Sanskrit	Páli	Ársha	Prákrit
Sing 1st	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि	भणामि 01 भणमि
2nd	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि	भणसि
3rd	भणति	भणति	भणति	भणइ
Plur 1st	भणाम	भणाम	भणामो	{ भणामो or भणमो भणाम 01 भणम, etc.
2nd	भणथ	भणथ	भणथ	भणइ 01 भणित्थ
3rd	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति	भणन्ति

Imperative

Sing 2nd	भण	भण	भण	भण
3rd	भणतु	भणतु	भणतु	भणउ
Plur 2nd	भणत	भणथ	भणथ	भणइ
3rd	भणन्तु	भणंतु	भणन्तु	भणन्तु

Passive

Sing 3rd	भणते	{ भञ्जते भणायते —	{ भणते भणिज्जते	{ भणए 01 भणइ भणायए 01 ०च्चइ भणिज्जए 01 ०ज्जइ
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* MS A in II, 25 has the curious reading *sáhyyantam* (see Appendix), which raises a doubt, whether *yy* may not possibly be the correct reading throughout for *y*, the latter being due to the Revisionists. The reading *yy* would well agree with sūtra III, 25 (*nayyate*, *váhyyate*), though, no doubt, sūtra III, 16 may account for the change of *yy* to *y*

Causl

Person	Sanskrit	Pāli	Kīsha	Prākṛit
Sing 3rd	भाषयति	{ भाषेति भाषयति	{ भाषेति (भाषयति?)	{ भाषेइ भाषवेइ

The following specialities may be noticed the root *hava* "be" may be optionally contracted to *ho*, e g, *hoti* "it is" (III, 31), so also in Pāli (see Minayef, p 113) Again the root *as* "be" drops its initial *a* in the 2nd pers sing *si* "thou art" (II, 18) The roots *grah* "take" and *kar* "do" pass from the IXth and Vth classes respectively into the VIth class, *gahati* "he takes" (III, 23), *karati* "he does" (see App B C D, III, 3)

9, SUFFIXES

a, Participial

a, *anta* (Skr *at*) forms the participle present of the parasmaipada verbs and optionally of the ātmanepada Thus *arahaṇto* (II, 11) for Skr *arhan*, pass *bhijjantam* (II, 25) for Skt *bhidyamānam*

b, *mau* forms optionally the participle present of the ātmanepada verbs, e g, *sāhijyamānam* (App A, II, 25) for Skr *sādhyamānam*

c, *ta* forms the participle past of the passive, e g, *lataṃ* (Skr *lṛtaṃ*, I, 23), *sutaṃ* (Skt *śrutam*, III, 2), *palāyitaṃ* (Skr *palāyitaṃ*, I, 23), etc After consonants it inserts *i* or is assimilated thus *osaitam* (Skr *apasaitam*, II, 23), *dittham* (Skr *drishṭam*, I, 27)

d, *taṇṇa* (Skr *taṇya*) forms the participle future passive Thus *soṭavvaṇ* (Skr *śoṭavyam*, III, 2), *lātaṇvaṇ* (Skr *lāṭavyam*, II, 4 III, 9, 29)

e, *ttā* or *ttu* (Skr *tvā*) form the conjunctive participle Thus *bhottuṇ* (Skr *bhukṭva*, II, 19, final anusvāra by II, 15), *oi*, with connecting vowel *i*, *vandittā* and *vandittu* (Skr *vanditvā*, II, 19) Sometimes *tvā* forms *choha* and *ttu* by assimilation, e g, *suchcha* (Skr *śrutvā*, II, 19), *lattu* (Skt *lṛtvā*, II, 19), *oi* even *ppi*, as in *lappi* (Skr *lṛtvā*, II, 19, cf *gappi* of *gam* in the Apabhraṃsa, H. C IV, 442)

f, *o* (or rather *io*) may form the conjunctive participle, e g, *vandio* (Skr *vanditvā*, II, 19) *

* I suspect that there is here some corruption in the text The suffix is perhaps *ya* (as in Pali) MS A reads the example *vandiva* (not *vandio*), similarly A reads *ia* in II, 28, where undoubtedly the correct reading is *ya* Hence the correct reading in II, 19 may be *vandīya*, and accordingly the suffix *ya* (not *o*)

g, *túna* or *ttúna* (Skr *tvána*) forms the conjunctive participle, e g, *bhottúna* (Skr *bhuktvá*, II, 19), *kátúna* (Skr *litvā*, II, 5)

b, Nominal

ála and *illa* derive nouns expressive of possession Thus *jaddálo* or *jadillo* (Skr *jaṭarān*) II, 20

10, INDECLINABLES

a, *nai*, *cheya* or *chiya* (Skr *eva*) express emphasis (II, 17) After short vowels *ch* is doubled, thus *tam cheya*, but *sa chchiya*

b, *piva*, *viva*, *viya*, *via*, *va* (Skr *iva*) express likeness (II, 22), thus *gimho viya*, *lamalam viya*, but *piva* apparently cannot be used after a vowel, but only after an anusvāra, e g, *chandanam piva* (cf *pi*) The Sanskrit form *via* also occurs, e g, *chamaram via*

c, *jaká* (Skr *yatha*) also expresses likeness (II, 22), e g, *jaká sankho*

d, *pi* (Skr *api*) expresses addition or emphasis (II, 18), thus *kataṁ pi*, *súro pi*

e, *lhu* (Skr *lhalu*) expresses emphasis (II, 24), thus *evam lhu*

f, *tú* or *táa* (Skr *távat*) and *jáa* (Skr *yávat*) express measure (II, 21), e g, *tú vichchinnam*, *táa gambhíra*, *jáa lyyante*. The abbreviated form *já* does not occur See pronominal adjectives, p 11

g, *iya* (Skr *iti*) indicates a quotation (II, 28), e g, *iya evam*

h, *o* (Skr *ava* or *apa*) is a prefix (II, 23), e g, *ohasitam* (Skr. *avahasi-tam*), *osaitam* (Skr *apasaitam*)

ANALYSIS OF CHANDA'S SŪTRAS

ON NOMINAL DECLENSION, I, 3 5-10 *

The plan on which these sūtras are arranged is to notice *first* all those declensional forms which are like the corresponding forms in Sanskrit, though modified in accordance with the general phonetic laws of Prákrit These forms are enumerated in sūtra I, 3

Secondly, all those forms which are peculiar to Prákrit and are not merely phonetically modified Sanskritic forms are enumerated in the sūtras I, 5-16

The following table will show at a glance this cardinal division of the Prákrit declensional forms

* A brief analysis of the second and third chapters of Chanda has already been given, see pp viii-x, xxiv-xxx

	masc <i>a</i> bases		masc <i>i, u</i> bases		fem <i>a, i, u</i> bases	
•	Sansk	Prák	Sansk	Prák	Sansk	Prák.
Sing	Nom	—	Nom	—	Nom	—
	Acc	—	Acc	—	Acc	—
	Instr	—	Instr	—	—	<i>Instr</i>
	—	ABL	—	Abl	—	<i>Abl</i>
	—	GEN	—	GEN	—	<i>Gen</i>
	—	Loc	—	Loc	—	<i>Loc</i>
Plur	Nom	—	—	Nom	—	<i>Nom</i>
	—	ACC	—	Acc	—	<i>Acc</i>
	—	<i>INSTR</i>	Instr $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Instr $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>INSTR</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	—	<i>ABL</i>	—	<i>ABL</i>	—	<i>ABL</i>
	Gen $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$	Gen $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>GEN</i> $\frac{1}{2}$
	Loc	—	Loc	—	Loc	—

The forms in the Sanskrit columns are those which Prákrit shares with the Sanskrit, those in the Prákrit columns are the forms peculiar to Prákrit

Now it will be observed (1) that in the Prákrit columns the only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases (in *a, i, u*) and for all three genders are those of the instrumental, ablative and genitive plural, indicated by capital italics

(2) The only forms which are *wholly* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *feminine* gender are those of the instr, abl, gen, loc. singular and the nom acc plural indicated by small italics (In the other genders, the same forms are not alike for the three kinds of bases)

(3) The only forms, which are *wholly* alike for the bases in *i* and *u* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl sing and nom and acc. plural, indicated by ordinary type

(4) The only forms which are *partially* alike for all three kinds of bases in the *masculine* gender are those of the genitive and locative singular, indicated by small capitals (In the gen sing the suffix *ssa*, and in the

loc sing the suffix *mmi*, are common to all bases in *a*, *i*, *u*, while the suffix *no* of the gen is confined to bases in *i* and *u*, and the suffix *e* of the loc to bases in *a*)

(5) The only forms which are peculiar to the bases in *a* in the *masculine* gender are those of the abl sing and the acc plural, indicated by large capitals (This is the converse of No 3)

The principle in the above explained order is to proceed from the most general to the most particular forms. It will be seen at once that it is this principle on which the sūtras I, 5—16 are arranged. We have first (by No 1) sūtras on the instr, abl and gen plural of all genders (*lingāt parasya*, I, 5—8), secondly (by No 2) sūtras on the instr, abl, gen and loc sing, and the nom and acc plural of the feminine (*stṛiyām*, I, 9, 10). Thirdly (by No 3) sūtras on the abl sing and nom acc plural of the masculine (*puruṣi*, I, 11, 12). Fourthly (by No 4) sūtras on the gen and the loc singular of masculines (*puruṣi*, I, 13, 14). Lastly (by No 5) sūtras on the abl sing and acc plur of the masculine (*puruṣiṅge*, I, 15, 16).

The arrangement of the several sūtras within each of these five minor divisions is regulated by mere considerations of convenience or grammatical usage. Thus in the first subdivision, Chanda commences with the sūtra on the gen plur, because the gen plur has *two* forms for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*), one of which it has in common with Sanskrit (see Sanskrit column). This is indicated by the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$. The gen plur, therefore, is the natural link between the Sanskrit cases, treated in sūtra I, 3, and the Prākṛitic cases, treated afterwards. Next follows the sūtra on the instr plur, because this case has its form in common with Sanskrit, with the exception of masc bases in *a**. Lastly comes the sūtra on the abl plural

* The treatment of this case requires a word of explanation. The fact is, that Chanda was here met by an awkward dilemma. The Prākṛit instr plur suffix *hi* is really the same as the Skr *bhis* (or *bhih*), from which it is modified by the general phonetic laws of Prākṛit (i.e., by the rules III, 13 II, 10, 11). Accordingly there would have been no need of any special sūtra (I, 7), teaching the formation of the Prak instr plur, if only Sanskrit had used the suffix *bhis* with every kind of base, but unfortunately Sanskrit does not use *bhis*, but *aiḥ*, with masc bases in *a*. It, therefore, became necessary for Chanda to formulate a special sūtra to meet the exceptional case of these masc *a*-bases. Here came the dilemma. If he had made a special sūtra (after the analogy of I, 15, 16) for masc *a*-bases alone (say, *hi bhiṣo'tah*), this, by its terms, would have denoted the suffix *hi* to all other bases, which would have been manifestly wrong. If, on the other hand, he made a special sūtra for all bases, this would seem to imply that the suffix *hi* is altogether Prākṛitic (like the abl plur suffix *hinto* I, 8), whereas it is really a Sanskritic suffix (*samśritatad vibhakti*) and ought to be set down under sūtra I, 3. In order to escape this dilemma, what Chanda did, was this: in order to indicate the Sanskritic character of the suffix *hi*, he mentioned it under sūtra I, 3, but excluded

which has nothing in common with Sanskrit. Again in the third subdivision Chanda commences with the sūtra on the nom and acc plur, instead of that on the abl singular, simply because the sūtra (I, 10) which immediately precedes it referred to the nom and acc plur, a circumstance which saves the repetition of the term *parasah*. Lastly in the fifth subdivision, Chanda places the acc plur before the abl sing, because the usage of native grammarians is to treat of the accusative (or *second* case), whether plural or singular, before the ablative (or *fifth* case), though another reason may have been, that sūtras I, 15 and I, 16 on the *a*-bases are parallel to the sūtras I, 11 and I, 12 on the *z*- and *u*-bases.

There is a technical point of some difficulty with regard to these sūtras. That the sūtras I, 5—10 refer to any of the three kind of bases (in *a*, *z*, *u*) is shown by the absence of any limitation in their terms as well as (in some of them) by their examples. But sūtras I, 11, 12 are, as far as their terms are concerned, equally unlimited, yet they are only applicable to bases in *z* and *u*. How is this to be known? The limitation is ingeniously indicated in two ways, 1, by the examples, these are only taken from bases in *z* and *u*, the example of the *a*-base will be found in sūtra I, 3, thus indicating, that the *a*-base forms its nom plur not by the rule I, 11, but by the rule I, 3. Secondly, there is the special sūtra I, 15, which by its very existence limits the sphere of sūtra I, 11 and shows that the *a*-base forms its acc plur not by the rule I, 11 but by the rule I, 15. The sūtra I, 11 being thus limited to the *z*- and *u* bases, the sūtra I, 12, of course, is equally limited to those bases by the well-known grammatical usage of *varatanam* or "implication"* Moreover the same implication is carried on to sūtras I, 13, 14, till it is prohibited by the introduction of the term *atah* "after *a*-bases" in sūtra I, 15. At the same time, the two sūtras I, 13 and I, 14 are only *partially* applicable to bases in *z* and *u*, for they partially refer also to bases in *a*. How is

examples of masc *a*-bases, next to meet the exceptional case of the latter bases, he formulated a special sūtra (I, 7) in *general* terms (*hi bhīṣak*), but excluded examples of any base save those of masc *a*-bases. In either case, therefore, he uses the examples which he gives to define the exact range of the terms of the sūtra. This device, to use examples to define the, otherwise misleading, terms of a sūtra, is a favorite one with Chanda. Another striking example (regarding the gon and loc sing) will be noticed further on in the text.

* The limitation of sūtra I, 12 is also indicated by the existence of sūtra I, 16. In fact, there are two sets of sūtras, viz, I, 11, 12 and I, 15, 16, both being on the acc plur and abl sing. Of these the latter set, viz I, 15, 16, being limited, by its very terms, to *a*-bases, shows that the former set must be limited to bases in *z* and *u*. There are, thus two sūtras I, 11, 12 referring to bases in *z* and *u* only, next two sūtras I, 13, 14 referring, partially, to both *a*-bases and *z*- and *u*-bases, lastly two sūtras I, 15, 16 referring to *a*-bases only.

this again to be known? The reply is the same as before, by the examples. In sūtra I, 13 the examples of the *z*- and *u*-bases give two forms of the genitive, but that of the *a*-base gives only one form, thus indicating that the *a*-base does not form a genitive in *no*, but only one in *ssa*. Similarly in sūtra I, 14 the examples of the *z*- and *u*-bases give only one form of the locative each, while the examples of the *a*-base give two forms, thus showing that the loc in *e* does not belong to the *z*- and *u*-bases, but only to the *a*-base*. It hardly needs adding, that in sūtra I, 16, of course, the term *atah* is again "implied" from the preceding sūtra, though its limitation to the *a*-bases is also clearly shown by the suffix *āt* (instead of *āsī*) used in the sūtra.

To return to the Sanskrit columns, they contain the residue of the forms, which are not noticed in the Prākṛit columns, and which are "*samskritavad*," that is, the same as in Sanskrit, excepting that they are modified by the ordinary Prākṛit phonetic laws (II, 1, 4, 10, 11). These forms are —

(1) The nom and acc singular of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *z*, *u*) and of all three genders, thus Skr nom sing *grāmah*, Aī *gāmao* (II, 10) = *gāmo* (II, 1, cf Kachch II, 1, 32 p 48), or Skr *pīṭham*, Aī *pīḍha* + *am* = *pīḍham* (II, 1, cf Pāṇini VII, 1 24 in Laghu Kaumudī, p 83) or Skī *agnih*, Aī *aggr* (II, 10), or Skī *dadhi*, Aī *dahi* (II, 10, cf Pāṇini VII, 1 23 in L K p 85), or Skī *nadī*, Aī *naī*, or Skr *vadhūh*, Aī *vahū* (II, 10). Acc sing Skī *grāmam*, Aī *gāma-am* = *gāmam* (II, 1, cf Pāṇini VI, 1, 107 in L K p 47), or Skī *agnim*, Aī *aggr+am* = *aggim* (cf Pāṇini *ibid*), or Skī *gangām*, Aī *gangām*, or Skī *nadīm*, Aī *naīm*, etc.

(2) The nom plural of masculine and neuter bases in *a*, thus Skr. *devāh*, Aī *devā* (II, 10), or Skr *hulāni*, Aī *hulāni* or *hulāni* (III, 16).

* There can be no doubt that the forms *aggie*, *gurne* (or *aggie*, *gurūe* sic) are nothing but clumsy inventions of the thoughtless Revisionists, who mistook the intention of the sūtra. For the forms have no support either from Pali or from Prākṛit, indeed Hemachandra and Vararuchi expressly forbid the *a* in their rules (H C III, 128 Vr. VI, 61), which would almost seem to have had in view these forgeries of the Revisionists. Of course, the forms *aggie*, *gurne* are simply the regular Prakrit forms for the Sanskrit locatives *agnīke*, *gurnīke*, containing the pleonastic suffix *ka*. Nor can it be doubtful that the example *devassa sohā* is only by some mischance omitted in MSS A and B. For the gen sing of *a*-bases is not mentioned in I, 3 (by any of the four MSS) where one might expect it, as it is a Sanskrit form, and if it were also omitted in I, 13, there would be no notice of it in the grammar at all. That, in such an important form as the gen sing of *a*-bases in *ssa*, would be simply incredible. Hence the reading of MSS C D, in this respect, must be correct. But the stupid remark *chalādiagrahanat*, etc., of course, is altogether the Revisionists' own contribution. It was *their* way of solving the difficulty which I have explained in the text. They either did not understand Chanda's method, or thought it not explicit enough. But *their* solution makes it no better, involving as it does a most fanciful use of the term *cha*.

(3) The instr singular of masc and neuter bases in *a*, thus Skt *devéna*, Ar *devena* (III, 16)

(4) The instr plural of all bases in *i* and *u* and of all three genders, thus Skt *agnibhih*, Ar *aggih* (II, 10 III, 13), or Skt *nadibhih*, Ar *naihi*, etc. The Skt suffix *bhih* drops its visarga by II, 10 and changes *bh* to *h* by III, 13. The Arsha form, therefore, is perfectly regular, but as the *a*-bases also take *hi* (for Skt *aih*), it is given as the general suffix of the instr plur in I, 7. See the footnote on page lvi

(5) The gen plural for all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and for all three genders, thus Skt *grámanám*, Aī *gáma + nam = gámánam* (I, 5 II 1, cf Pāṇini VI, 4 3 and VII, 1 51 in L K p 51, 2 c, Skt *nám* becomes *nam* by I, 5, but *nam* consists of the augment *n* and the real suffix *am*, and the final vowel of the base *gáma* becomes long *á* before the initial vowel of the suffix *am*, by II, 1)

(6) The loc plur of all three kinds of bases (in *a*, *i*, *u*) and of all three genders, thus Skt *deveshu*, Aī *deva-su = devesu* (cf Pāṇini VII, 3, 103 in L K p 50), or Skt *agnishu*, Ar *aggisu* (III, 18), or Skt *nadishu*, Ar *naisu*, etc

It will be observed, that these forms are precisely those which are enumerated by Chanda in sūtra I, 3

In MS B a few additional forms are given in sūtra I, 3, which, however, do not materially affect the above given explanation. They occur in the acc plur, and abl gen and loc singular. They may possibly be original portions of the sūtra, as some of the pronominal forms are very old tatsamas (*tasmín*, *tvayī*, etc). In any case they are, on the whole, correct additions, probably of very early date. But *gangá*, *tumhe* and *amhe* in the acc plur and *gáme*, *lule* in the loc sing are not quite in keeping with the spirit of the sūtra, as the former forms come under sūtra I, 10, 15, the latter under sūtra I, 14. For this reason and because the standard MS A omits them, I have relegated all these additions to the Appendix B C D.

ON THE CHANGE OF DENTAL N TO CEREBRAL N

POSTSCRIPT TO pp. xxv, xxvi

The only instances in which the Aśhī shows an almost uniform use of the cerebral *n*, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, are suffixes and particles. Thus there are the declensional suffixes *na* or *ná* of the instr sing (I, 3), *no* of the abl gen sing and nom acc plur (I, 11, 12), *ni* of the nom plur neut (I, 4), *na* (or *nam*) of the gen plur. (I, 5) Again the derivative suffixes *tūna* (II, 19) of the conjunctive participle, and

ttana (II, 29) of abstraction. Again the particle *na* (II, 17, but never the negative *na*) In all these cases Sanskrit, whenever it has a corresponding form, uses the dental *n*

In the case of bases of nouns or verbs, the tendency of the Aśha is just the other way. Here the dental *n* is almost uniformly used, there are exceptions in which the cerebral *n* occurs, independent of any influence of a preceding cerebral sound, but there is no apparent principle in these exceptions, for the same word is at one time spelled with dental *n*, at another, with cerebral *n*, e g *nānaṃ* (III, 6), but *nānaṃ* (III, 19), *dhannaṃ* (B C D, III, 27), but *dhannaṃ* (III, 16)

Even as regards suffixes and particles, there is no absolute uniformity of spelling with cerebral *n*. Especially is this want of perfect uniformity striking in MS B. Thus it has instr sing *devena* in I, 3, *nekena* in II, 27, nom plur *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), gen plur *devānaṃ* in I, 3 (but *buddhīnaṃ*, *nāinaṃ*, etc) and *no* in the sūtra of I, 5 (but *na* in all examples), *ttana* in II, 29 (in the comment, but *ttana* in the sūtra and in all examples), *na* in II, 17 (in the sūtra, but *na* in the comment, and in all examples). There are only three cases in which MS B has uniformly the cerebral *n*, viz, in the instr sing suffix *na* (I, 3), the abl gen sing and nom acc plur suffix *no* (I, 11, 12), and in the derivative suffix *tūna* (II, 19). In the MS A there are only two instances of want of uniformity, viz, the nom plur *kulāni* in I, 3 (but *devāni* in I, 4), and *na* in II, 17 (only in the sūtra). In most cases, probably, this want of uniformity is to be ascribed to the carelessness of the writers or copyists of the MSS. But in the case of the nom plur neuter (where both MSS A and B agree) and, probably, of the instr sing of *a*-bases (which MS B uniformly spells with dental *n*), I am inclined to believe that both ways of spelling (with *n* or *n*) are correct. It will be noticed that in these two cases the Aśha forms are tatsamas, while in the others they are, more or less, decided tadbhavas. This would account for the change of the dental *n* into the cerebral *n* being more firmly established in the latter than the former cases, in the case of the instr sing suffix *nā*, the tendency to that change has even prevailed over the tatsama character of the suffix.

That there *was* such a tendency to the preferential use of the cerebral *n* in Prākṛit (at least in the Western Prākṛit), there can be no doubt, evidence of it, in the modern Western Gaudian, can still be observed. And that it assumed somewhat larger dimensions in later Prākṛit times, is clearly shown by the statements of Hemachandra in his Grammar (already referred to on p xxvi). But there can be no doubt that, in the main, this tendency affected tadbhava forms and words only, and that in the living language, the *vernacular* Prākṛit, it never assumed those large and uniform

dimensions, which are taught in the Grammars of Vararuchi and others, and are exhibited in the dramatic and other non-Jaina literature. The state of the modern Western Vernaculars of India renders it doubtful whether, even in the far more limited dimensions taught by Hemachandria, the tendency ever existed in the vernacular Prākṛit. That, as soon as the vernacular Prākṛit was used for literary purposes, any such tendency should become slightly more accentuated, by being subjected to uniform rules, is but natural and a phenomenon attending the literary cultivation of all languages. But that exaggeration of it, which characterises the non-Jaina grammars and literature of Prākṛit, is clearly the outgrowth of a scholastic pedantry and a mark of utter artificialness. In my opinion, the so-called Jaina Prākṛit and the so-called Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit merely differ in so far as that the former is the natural, the latter the artificial literary representative of the vernacular Western Prākṛit. The Jain community, always very strong in Western India, employed their vernacular as the language of their sacred writings, and the literary language, thus formed, naturally kept more or less close to its vernacular prototype, for otherwise it would have defeated its own object of serving as the vehicle of conveying religious instruction to the masses. The Brahmanical opponents of the Jains, who had no need to be guided by any such consideration, and who employed the Sanskrit language for their religious and all higher literature, condescended to employ the literary Prākṛit, created by the Jains, only for purposes of secular literature of a lower class (erotic and dramatic poetry, etc.) and, in doing so, subjected the language to a high degree of pedantic artificialization.

There are other evidences, making in the same direction, which however I can here only briefly refer to, as the subject is not strictly within the scope of the present work. One is the so-called *ya-sruti*, mentioned on p. vii. In Prākṛit there is a tendency to elide medial single consonants. There is no difficulty in pronouncing the resultant hiatus, when the latter of the two meeting vowels is *i* or *u*, for then the vowels practically tend to combine ($a+i = ai$ or ay , $a+u = o$ or au , etc.). But if the second vowel is *a*, there is some awkwardness in pronouncing the hiatus, especially if both vowels are *a* ($a+a$ or $a+a$, etc.). Hence a tendency arose in the vernacular Prākṛit to overcome the awkwardness by sounding the semivowel *y* (or sometimes *v*) between the hiatus-vowels ($aya = a+a$, $ya = i+a$, uya or $uva = u+a$, etc.), a tendency the operation of which explains the origin of many modern Gaudian forms and which is still observable in the present day. When, however, the vernacular Prākṛit came to be cultivated by the Jains, another tendency, apparently, arose, of looking upon the *ya-sruti* as a vulgar practice and of reducing its use within narrower limits. Hence Hemachandria, in his Grammar of the Jaina Prākṛit, allows the *ya-sruti* only in the more difficult

ease of the hiatus between two *a* (II C I, 100) The non-Jain cultivators of Prākṛit (*e.g.*, Vararuchi in his Grammar of the Māhāśāstrī Prākṛit) went a step further in the artificialization of the language and prohibited, or at least ignored, the use of the *ya-sruti* altogether, evidently thinking that the admission of it would stultify the paramount Prākṛit rule of eliding medial consonants and thus creating hiatuses

Another evidence is the curious rule of Chanda (II, 2), that the first of two hiatus-vowels is elided, if the second is followed by a conjunct consonant *. Hence arise such words as *devindo* for *devendo*, *kaṭuḷḷoo* for *kaṭoḷḷoo* This rule is utterly ignored by the grammarians of the later literary Prākṛit, both the Jaina and the Māhāśāstrī Nevertheless it is a rule which must have been always observed in the vernacular Prākṛit, for it is still observed in the present day (*e.g.*, in Hindi *joginda*, *narinda*, as well as *jogenda* and *narenda*) The reason of its being ignored in the later literary Prākṛit was probably this In the later Prākṛit a tendency arose to change *i* and *u* to *e* and *o* respectively before conjunct consonants (see VI I, 12, 20 H C I, 85, 116), a practice apparently unknown to the older Prākṛit of Chanda The result of this tendency would have been to produce alternative forms (*devinda* and *devenda*, *kaṭuḷḷoo* and *kaṭoḷḷoo*), of these forms those with *e* and *o* (*devenda* and *kaṭoḷḷoo*) resemble their Sanskrit equivalents (*devendā*, *krītodyoga*) much more nearly than the others with *i* and *u* Hence the latter forms, together with the rule which produced them, came evidently to be looked upon as vulgarities and accordingly as things to be avoided But that is an incorrect view, and that the forms with *i* and *u* are the older of the two (those with *e* and *o* being in fact, in many cases, modifications of the older forms in *i* and *u*, and not direct derivatives of their Sanskrit counterparts) is proved by the practice of the modern Vernaculars, in which both forms often occur side by side

ON THE TREATMENT OF MEDIAL SINGLE CONSONANTS.

POSTSCRIPT TO pp xxvi and xxviii

The remark as to the permissive character of Chanda's rules, of course, also applies to his rule III, 34 It is not to be supposed that in the Prākṛit of Chanda's time the sonant consonants were uniformly elided, any more than that the surds were uniformly preserved But just as the latter were occasionally softened to the corresponding sonants (see Ch III, 12), so the former were occasionally retained But I think the existence of the rule III, 35 (on the *ya-sruti*), which provides for the treatment of a particular

* The rule, apparently, only applies to compound words, as shown by the examples

kind of hiatus, shows that such hiatuses must have been sufficiently common to require that rule, and since hiatuses could only arise by the elision of sonant consonants, it is clear that such elision was a common occurrence. I conclude therefore, that in the Prākṛit of Chanda's time, as regards surd consonants, preservation was the regular practice, while as regard sonants, elision was the rule, in both cases, there might be exceptions, but Chanda's grammar, clearly, was formulated so as to suit the generality of phenomena, leaving exceptional or less general phenomena to be provided for by the permissive character of his rules. This is the point of view I have followed in editing and, where necessary, restoring his Grammar. It may be added that rules, like Ch III, 31 II, 21, 23, also point to a greater tendency towards deletion on the part of the sonants, than on that of surd consonants.

॥ (१) ओं श्रीगणेशाय नमः (१) ॥



प्रणम्य* शिरसा वीरं स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिर् अक्षरैः ।

लक्षणं प्राकृतं† वक्ष्ये किञ्चिद् वृद्धमताद् अहं ॥ १ ॥

कञ्चित् लोपः कचित् सन्धिः क्वचिद् वर्णविपर्ययः ।

(१) आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात् तत् तु भाषितं ॥ २ ॥

॥ (२) अथ क्रमेण नवनवतिः सूत्राणि ॥

॥ १ ॥ सिद्धं (२) प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥ १ ॥

सिद्धं (६) प्रसिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा (७) त्रिप्रकारं (८) भवति (९) ॥ (१०) संस्कृतयोनिः ।

तच् चेदं ॥ यज्ञः (११) जन्मो (१२) । मात्रा मन्त्रा । ** नित्यं निचं । इत्यादि (१३) ॥

१ १

* C अक्ष वृद्धमतात् किञ्चित् प्राकृतं लक्षणं वक्ष्ये अक्षरैः स्वल्पैर् व्यापिभिः शिरसा वीरं प्रणम्य ॥ † C व्यापिभिर् व्यापनशैलैः ॥ ‡ C प्राकृतं । प्रकृतिः संस्कृत । तत्रभव ततः आगतं वा प्राकृतं । संस्कृतं खगिणा भाषा शब्दशास्त्रेषु निश्चिता । प्राकृतं तच्च तन्मुख्य देशादिकम् अनेकधा ॥ § C संस्कृतयोनिः । संस्कृताद् योनिर् यस्य तत् संस्कृतयोनिः ॥ ॥ C यज्ञ यजन । पुलिगे । यस्य ज (iii, 15 जज्ञः) । वर्णविपर्यय इत्यादि शास्त्र पञ्चमो वा (iii, 6 जज्ज) । इज्जथाना रनखा. (iii, 19 जन) । लोपे द्वित्व (iii, 24 जज्ज) । एदोद्रलोपा विसर्जनीयस्य (ii, 10 जज्जो) । खराणा खरे परे (ii, 1) जज्जो ॥ ¶ C मात्रा काल-विशेषः स्याद् वा अक्षिस्यन्दनप्रमाणकाल । खौल्लिगे ॥ ** C नित्यं नपुंसके ॥

(१) C prefixes ८० = 80, the same number occurs in the same place in a MS. of the Jain work *tatvārthadhigamam mokhaśāstram*, in my possession, D pref ६० = 60 (२) C ओ नमः सिद्धेभ्यः, D ओ नमः सिद्धं ॥ (३) So A, C D read आगमोऽन्तादिमध्ये लक्ष्यं स्यात्स सुभाषितान्; B om the second verse altogether. (४) So A, B C D om this clause (५) B om this sūtra, giving only the commentary. (६) B om (७) B त्रिधा ॥ (८) A D om (९) A B om (१०) So D, A B C योनिः ॥ (११) A यज्ज, B यज्ञा ॥ (१२) A जन्मा, B जन्मा, C D जन्मो ॥ (१३) A B om.

(१)संस्कृतसम* । तच् चेदं । स्थिरो । सोमो । जालं^(१) । कंदलं^(१) ।
 कोमलं^(४) । इत्यादि ॥ देशीप्रसिद्धं^(५) (C D^(६)) । तच् चेदं ॥ हर्षि-
 तं^(७) ल्हसिचं । ^(७)स्यष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलितं ^(८)पुष्टं चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वलीय ।
 इत्यादि ॥

॥ २ ॥ लिंगं च^(९) ॥ २ ॥

प्राकृते लिंगम् अपि त्रेधा^(१०) त्रिप्रकारं^(११) भवति ॥ देवो^(१२) ।
 गंगा^(१३) । कुलं ॥

॥ ३ ॥ तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥ ३ ॥

तस्मात् लिंगात् पराः संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयो^(१४) भवन्ति ॥ सि^(१५) ॥ देवो[†] ।
 अग्नि[‡] । रिपु^(१६) । बुद्धि^(१७) । धेनु^(१८) । नदी^(१९) । वधू^(२०) । पीठं^(२१) ।

* C संस्कृतसम संस्कृतेन सम ॥ † C स्थिरो रविः । सोमो चन्द्र । जालं पाश । कदल
 कलहः । कोमलं सुकुमार ॥ ‡ C देवः । एदोद्र० (II, 10 देवस्यो) । खराणा खरे प्रकृति-
 लोपसधय (II, 1) देवो । § C अग्नी अग्नि । शाच० (III, 6 अग्नि) । लोपे० (III, 24
 अग्नि) । खरोऽन्योन्यस्य (II, 4 अग्नीः) । एदोद्र० (II, 10) अग्नी ॥ ॥ C वधू । हो
 खघघभाना (III, 13) ॥

(१) A B सम संस्कृत ॥ (२) A B जाल ॥ (३) A कदल, B क ॥ (४) A B कोमल,
 C D add कमल ॥ (५) B देशीयप्रसिद्धम्; it may be noted here, that A B not
 uncommonly write स् or सु for a final anusvara at the end of a clause or sentence.
 (६) C D om the remainder, in the place of which they have a different reading,
 see Appendix C D (७) A om Sanskrit (८) A पुष्ट चन्द्रिकोज्ज्वली । (९)
 B चसु ॥ (१०) A B त्रिधा ॥ (११) A D om, B त्रि प्रकार ॥ (१२) D adds Sk देव ॥
 (१३) B गंग. or गमा. ? ॥ (१४) C D prefix सप्त ॥ (१५) A B om this case-term,
 A B C D read final i and u, where the text has i and u, and C D add the
 Skr translations देव । अग्नि । रिपुः । बुद्धिः । धेनु । नदी । वधू । पीठ । दधि ।
 मधु । ज । अह । देव । कुलानि । etc (१६) C D add, गुरु । गुरु ॥ (१७) A B
 बुद्धी, C D om. this example (१८) B धेनुः, C D धेनू ॥ (१९) A C D नदी ॥
 (२०) A C वधू ॥ (२१) C D पीठः । पीठो ॥

दरि । मज्ज । त्वं^(१) । अहं^(१) ॥ जम् ॥ देवा^(१) । कुलानि^(४) । वयं^(५) ।
 तुमो अग्नो । (CD) ॥ अस्^(६) ॥ देवं । अग्निं । गुरुं^(७) । ^(८)गंगां* ।
 बुद्धिं^(८) । धेनुं । नदीं^(१०) । पीठं^(११) । दधिं । मधुं । ^(१२)त्वां मां
 तां रक्त्वयो^(१३) ॥ अस्^(१४) (BCD) ॥ टा ॥ देवेण^(१५) । गुरुणा^(१६) ।
 दक्षिणा^(१७) ॥ भिम् ॥ अग्निहिं^(१८) । रिपुहिं^(१८) । बुद्धिहिं^(१९) । नदीहिं^(१९) ।
 दधिहिं । मज्जहिं^(२०) । तुम्हेहिं^(२०) । अग्नेहिं^(२०) ॥ डांसं^(२१) (BCD) ॥
 अस्^(२२) (CD) ॥ अस्^(२३) (BCD) ॥ आस ॥ देवानां^(२४) ।
 बुद्धीणां^(२५) । धेनूणां^(२५) । नदीणां^(२५) । तेसां^(२६) त्रेतेसि^(२७) ॥ डि^(२८) ।

* C गङ्गां रता । सरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन गङ्गां ॥ † C धेनुं । (धेनु-अस्) ।
 स्रग्माणां (ii, 1 धेनु अस् or धेनुस्य) । सरोः (ii, 1 धेनुस्) । अदागमो (ii, 11 धेनु) ॥
 ‡ C तुष्ठाभिः । तुष्ठादा यस्य त (iii, 17 तुष्ठाभिः) । रज्याणां स (iii, 18 तुष्ठाभिः) ।
 गङ्गां (iii, 3 तुष्ठाभिः) । गङ्गादेर* (iii, 23 तुष्ठाभिः) । सरोः (ii, 4 तुष्ठाभिः) । अदागमो
 (ii, 11 तुष्ठाभिः) । चि भिम् । (i, 7) तुष्ठादि ॥ § C तेसि । तेषां । रज्याणां स (iii, 18
 तेसां) । सरोऽन्योन्यस्य (ii, 4) इत्यनेन पाप्म इति चि भवति । तेसि ॥

(१) So A (see Kace ii, 2, 21), B गुमसु, CD तुम ॥ (२) D अद्य and, after
 it, adds इत्यादि ॥ (३) A देवा, B देय (cf p 2, note १९) (४) CD कुलानि ॥
 (५) B वयं; C D have a different reading, see Appendix CD (६) A reads
 confusedly बुद्धि । जम् । धेनु । पीठ । मज्ज । त्वा । मा त रक्त्वयो, om the rest of
 the examples of the acc sing, C D add the Skr translations देव ।
 अग्नि । गुरु । गंगा । बुद्धिं । धेनु । नदी । पीठ । दधि । मधु ॥ (७) CD add रिपु रिपु
 (D in MS रिपु) ॥ (८) So B, CD गङ्गा ॥ (९) B D बुद्धि ॥ (१०) CD नदी, A
 B om. (११) A B पीठ ॥ (१२) A reads त्वा मा तं रं, B C त्वा मा त रं स रं, D
 त्वा त मा स रं ॥ (१३) A B रक्त्वयो C D रक्त्वउ ॥ (१४) A om, see App B C D
 (१५) B देवेन; C D add Skr देवेन । गुरुणा । दधा ॥ (१६) B C D add मज्जणा ॥
 (१७) D add चरणा ॥ (१८) A B C D अग्नीहिं ॥ (१९) C रिपूहिं, D रिपूहिं, B om.
 this example, A om this and the remaining examples of the instr plur, C D
 add the Skr translations अग्निभिः । रिपुभिः । बुद्धिभिः । नदीभिः । दधिभिः । मधुभिः ।
 तुष्ठाभिः । अस्माभिः ॥ (२०) B बुद्धीहिं, C यं, D बुद्धिहिं and adds गुरुहिं ॥ (२१)
 CD नदीहिं ॥ (२२) B C D दधौहिं, मज्जहिं ॥ (२३) B D read ंजो ॥ (२४) A om.;
 see App B C D (२५) B देवानां (see i, 5), D adds Skr देवानां ॥ (२६) D बु० ॥
 (२७) A om. this and the remaining examples of the gen plur, C D धेनूणां ॥
 (२८) CD नदीणां ॥ (२९) B D तेसां, C om. (३०) C D add जेसि । गिरौषं ॥

(BCD) ॥ सु५ ॥ देवेसु^(१) । अग्निसु^(२) । बुद्धिसु^(३) । माला-
सु^(४) । नईसु^(५) । कुलेसु^(६) । तुहेसु^(७) । अन्हेसु^(८) । (CD) ॥
इत्यादि^(९) ॥

॥ ४ ॥ कचिद् व्यत्ययः* ॥ ४ ॥

एषां लिंगानां कचिद् व्यत्ययो भवति ॥ जम्^(१०) ॥ विज्जुणो ।
देवाणि^(११) रक्खंतु^(१२) ॥

॥ ५ ॥ सागमस्याप् आसो णो^(१३) हो^(१४) वा ॥ ५ ॥

(१५) सागमस्यासोऽनागमस्यापि एकारो भवति हो वा ॥ ताणं ताहं ॥
देवाणं^(१६) देवाहं । कम्माणं । कम्माहं । (१७) सरिताणं सरिताहं । (CD) ।
(१८) तुम्हाणं तुम्हाहं ॥ । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ सख्याया^(१९) एहः ॥ ६ ॥

* C व्यत्यय । विपर्यय ॥ † C विज्जुणे । विद्युत् । अदागमो (ii, 11 विद्यु) ।
वर्गादु० (iii, 5 विद्यु) । तवर्गासु० (iii, 16 विद्यु) । लोपे० (iii, 24 विज्जु) । णो
इसस्य (i, 12 विज्जुणे) ॥ ‡ C ताण । ताह । तेपा ॥ § C सर्वेषां शब्दानां अग्रे आसु
कर्णाय । एकस्मिन् स्थाने एः द्वितोयस्थाने हो विकल्पेन द्वौ कर्णयौ ॥ ॥ C देवानां ।
कर्मणा । सरिता । युष्माक ॥

(१) A om, D देवेसु, B prefixes Skr देवेषु ॥ (२) A B अग्नीसु, CD
अग्नीसु ॥ (३) A बुद्धीसु, B C बु०, D बुद्धीसु ॥ (४) A C om, CD add
मालासु ॥ (५) A om, C एईसु, D एईसु ॥ (६) CD om (७) D तुहेसु,
and adds तुहेसु ॥ (८) B अन्हेसु, C अन्हेसु, D अन्हेसु ॥ (९) BCD एवमादि
द्रव्य ॥ (१०) So A, BCD एसो जसो, CD add एसो । कुलो ॥ (११) C
adds देवाह देवाहं, D adds देवाहं ॥ (१२) D रक्खन्तो ॥ (१३) B नो ॥ (१४) D
om (१५) B सागमस्यासो अनागम ॥ (१६) B om (१७) ACD सरियाण
सरियाहं, B सरियाआण सरियाआह, D prefixes सरिता ॥ (१८) AB तुम्हाणं
तुम्हाह, D तुमाण तुम्हाह ॥ (१९) CD सख्याया ॥

संख्यायाः परस्य सागमस्यानागमस्याप्य् आसो एहो भवति ॥ (C D) ।
*पंचणहं । तीसणहं^(१) । इत्यादि ॥

॥ 6 ॥ (C D) ॥ ६* ॥

॥ 7 ॥ हि^(२) भिषः ॥ ७ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भिषो हि^(२) भवति ॥ देवेहिं^(३) । गामेहिं^(३) । (C D) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ हितो^(४) भ्यसः ॥ ८ ॥

लिंगात् परस्य भ्यसो^(५) हितो भवति ॥ गामेहितो^(६) । सिद्धे-
हितो^(७) । बुद्धिहितो^(८) । धेनुहितो^(९) । नर्देहितो^(१०) । तुम्हेहितो^(११) ।
अन्हेहितो^(१२) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ तृतीयादीनाम् एत्वम्^(१३) एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥ ९ ॥

तृतीयादीनां टाङ्गसिङ्गम्ङि-वचनानां स्त्रियां ए भवति ॥ गंगाए^(१४) ।
बुद्धीए^(१५) । नर्देए^(१६) । वद्दए^(१६) । तीए^(१७) । ताए ॥ ॥

॥ 10 ॥ ओउलोपा^(१८) जशशसोः^(१९) ॥ १० ॥

* C पचणह । पचानां ॥ पचन् । अदागमो० (ii, 11 पच) । संख्याया षट् (i, 6 पचणह) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 पचणह) ॥ † C तीसणह । चिगता ॥ चिगत् । रेफ० (iii, 9 तिगत्) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तिगत्) । खरो० (ii, 4 तीगत्) । रगपाणा स. (iii, 18 तीगन्) । तस्य च इत्य् चनेन तलोप (iii, 38 तीस) । संख्याया षट् (i, 6 तीसणह) । अनुस्वारो० (ii, 15 तीसणह) ॥ ‡ C देवेहि । देवैः ॥ § C गगाए । गगाया । गगाया गगायाः । गंगाया ॥ ॥ C तीए ताए । तथा तस्या । तस्या । तस्या ॥

(१) A तीशणह ; C D prefix चीसणह ॥ (२) B C D हि ॥ (३) C D om , but see App C D. (४) A हितो ॥ (५) A भिषो ॥ (६) A C om , B D गामेहितो , D prefixes गामेथ ॥ (७) A सिद्धीहितो , B सिद्धाहितो , C D read देवेहितो and add अग्रीहितो । गुरुहितो ॥ (८) B C बुद्धीहितो , A D बु० ॥ (९) C D धेनूहितो , A B धेनु० ॥ (१०) C D नर्देहितो ॥ (११) B D तुजो० and अजो० ॥ (१२) A om. , see i, 29. (१३) A एकत्वम् , B एत्वम् ॥ (१४) A B D बु० ॥ (१५) C D बुद्धीए ॥ (१६) A व० ॥ (१७) C D place ताए । तीए ॥ (१८) A ओउ० , B उओलोपो ॥ (१९) C D जशशसोः , B जशशोः ॥

स्त्रियां वर्तमानयोर्^(१) जश्शसोर्^(२) ओ-उ-लोपाश् च भवन्ति^(३) ॥
^(४)मालाओ मालाउ माला । ^(५)बुद्धीओ बुद्धीउ बुद्धी । ^(६)धेनूओ
 धेनूउ धेनू । नईओ नईउ नई* ॥ एवं शसोऽपि ॥

॥ 10^a ॥ (C D) ॥ १०^a ॥

॥ 11 ॥ पुसि पूर्व्वत्^(७) ॥ ११ ॥

पुसि^(८) पुंस्त्रिगे वर्तमानयोर् जश्शसोः^(२) पूर्व्वस्त्रो भवति ॥
 अग्नी^(९) । गुरु ॥

॥ 11^a ॥ C ॥ ११^a ॥

॥ 12 ॥ णो डसेश् च ॥ १२ ॥

पुंस्त्रिगे वर्तमानयोर् जश्शसोर्^(२) णो भवति । पंचम्येकवचनस्य च ॥
 †अग्निणो जलन्ति । ‡सुणिणो पत्सु^(१०) । ॥गिरिणो एति^(११) नई^(१२) ॥

॥ 13 ॥ स्सश्^(१३) च डसः^(१४) ॥ १३ ॥

पुसि वर्तमानस्य डसो णो भवति । स्सश्^(१३) च भवति^(१५) ॥ ‡सुणिणो

* C does not give the Sanskrit equivalent of any of these exam-
 ples, but, instead of it, the two numbers 13 and 23 are inscribed over each

form, thus मालाओ ॥ † C यादश् पूर्व्वशब्दस्य स्वरस्तादृश एव कर्त्तव्य ॥ ‡ C अग्र्य-
 ष्वलन्ति ॥ § C सुनीन् पश्य ॥ ॥ C गिरे सकाशात् एति नदी । B गिरित एति नदी ॥
 ¶ B मुने रूप ॥

(१) A reads वर्तमाना एते भवन्ति ॥ (२) C D जश्शसोर् ॥ (३) B reads उ
 ओ भवन्ति । लोपो भवन्ति ॥ (४) A has final ओ, and D has final उ, instead
 of ओ, in all examples, exc D एईओ, B places मालाउ मालाओ and
 so on throughout (५) B बु in all three examples (६) A C D यू for नू
 in all three examples (७) B पूर्व्ववत् ॥ (८) A om (९) C D प्रस्त्रि देवा ॥
 (१०) B पत्सुन्ति ॥ (११) A B C एद्, D एद् ॥ (१२) A C D एद्, B वद् ॥ (१३) B
 सश् ॥ (१४) A डसो ए ॥ (१५) A om

(^१रूपं (^१)सुणिस्स रूपं । *अग्निणो मिहा अग्निस्स मिहा ॥ (^१)देवस्स चेद्धां । (CD) ॥

॥ 11 ॥ ण स्मि डः ॥ १४ ॥

पुमि डिवचनस्य ए^(४) भवति । स्मि च भवति ॥ (^५अग्निस्मिं ।
(^६गुरुस्मिं ॥ (^७)गान्ते गानस्मि ॥

॥ 15 ॥ (^८)ए दसोऽतः ॥ १५ ॥

अतः(^९) अकाराद् उन्नरस्य शमः(^{१०}) पुंस्त्रिणे ए भवति ॥ देवे ॥ ।
वंभणे(^{११}) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ (^{१२})तोतुद्धितोन्नोपात् तच्चातः ॥ १६ ॥

(^{१२}पंचमी-आतः आदेशतकारस्य(^{१४}) तोतुद्धितो लोपा(^{१५}) एते

* BC अग्ने. निष्ठा ॥ † C देवस्य शोभा ॥ ‡ C अग्ने ॥ अग्नी । अग्नी or अग्निणो (1, 11 12) ॥ १ ॥ अग्नि । अग्नी or अग्निणो (1, 11 12) ॥ २ ॥ अग्निणा (1, 6^a) । अग्नीद्धि (1, 7) ॥ ३ ॥ अग्निणो or अग्निस्स । अग्नीण or अग्नीद्ध (11, 13 1, 5) ॥ ४ ॥ अग्निणो (1, 12) । अग्नीद्धितो (1, 8) ॥ ५ ॥ अग्निणो or अग्निस्स (1, 13) । अग्नीण or अग्नीद्ध (1, 5) ॥ ६ ॥ अग्निण (1, 11) । अग्नीस्स or अग्नीस्सु (1, 3 11, 15) ॥ ७ ॥ ए अग्नी । ऐ अग्नी or ऐ अग्निणो ॥ एव इकारात्ताना सर्वेषा रूपाणि ॥ § C गुरौ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ १ ॥ गुरु । गुरु or गुरुणो ॥ २ ॥ गुरुणा । गुरुद्धि ॥ ३ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुण or गुरुद्ध ॥ ४ ॥ गुरुणो । गुरुद्धितो ॥ ५ ॥ गुरुणो or गुरुस्स । गुरुण or गुरुद्ध ॥ ६ ॥ गुरुण (1, 11) or गुरुस्मि । गुरुस्स or गुरुस्सु ॥ ७ ॥ ऐ गुरु । ऐ गुरु or ऐ गुरुणो ॥ एव उकारात्ताना सर्वेषा रूपाणि ॥ ॥ C देवान् । ब्राह्मणान् ॥

(१) A reads पस्स (see 1, 12), B C D रूव ॥ (२) C D रूव; A B om सुणिस्स रूप । अग्निणो मिहा ॥ (३) C places देवस्स सोद्धा before अग्निस्स मिहा, A B om. (४) C D एस्मिच्च भवति ॥ (५) A prefixes अग्नि, B C D अग्नी ॥ (६) D prefixes गुरु, C गुरु, but not A B (७) C D prefix देवे । देवस्मि ॥ (८) B om thus sūtra and its commentary (९) A अतो अकाराद् ॥ (१०) D शम ॥ (११) A वंभणे (see 11, 15) (१२) A B C D read ओउ० for तोतु०, and C D insert द्धि after उ; B has the marginal note द्धि वुद्धि ॥ (१३) A पंचमी आगत आदे०, B पचमी अत आदे०, C पचमी अत् । आदे०, D पचत् परस्स आदे०, C had originally चान्, but the long ā is changed to a by yellow pigment (१४) B आदेशतकारस्य ॥ (१५) A B C D ओउ० for तोतु० ॥ (१६) MS अग्नी and गुरु ॥

आदेशा भवन्ति^(१) ॥ (१) गयणातो* । गयणातुं । गयणादितो^(२) ।
गयणा^(३) ॥

॥ 17 ॥ तदिदमोः^(४) से षष्ठीरूपाणा^(५) ॥ १७ ॥

तद्^(६) इदम् अनयोर् एकत्वद्वित्वऊल्लेपु स्त्रीपुनपुसकेषु यद् रूपं तस्य
से भवति ॥ तस्याः^(७) रूपं से रूपं^(८) । तस्याः^(९) गुणाः^(१०) से गुणा^(११) ।
(१२) अस्याः रूपं से रूपं^(१३) । (१४) अस्याः गुणाः से गुणा । एवं शेषेष्व्
अपि द्रष्टव्याः^(१५) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ युग्मदः ॥ १८ ॥

अतः^(१६) ऊर्द्धं युग्मदध्यायो भवति ॥

* C गगनात् । कगचल० (or कटतीय० III, 34) इत्यनेन गकारस्य लोपः (गचन) ।
क्षयिते यत्तम् चवर्णं (or य० चवर्णे III, 35 गयन) । तद्वर्गस्य० (III, 16 गयण) । स्त्रो०
(II, 4 गयणा) । षो० (I, 16) इति गयणाद्यो ॥ † C गयणे (१७) । गयणा । हे गयणे ।
हे गयणा ॥ १ ॥ गयण । गयणा or गयणे (I, 15) ॥ २ ॥ गयणेण । गयणेहि or गयणेहि or
गयणेहि ॥ ३ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाण or गयणाद् ॥ ४ ॥ गयणाद्यो or गयणाड or गयणाहि or
गयणादितो or गयणा । गयणेदितो ॥ ५ ॥ गयणस्सु । गयणाण or गयणाद् ॥ ६ ॥ गयणे
or गयणम् । गयणेसु or गयणेषु ॥ ७ ॥ एव सर्वेषां अकारानामा रूपं नेय ॥ ‡ C युग्म-
द्वयस्य रूपाणि ॥ तुम् । तुम्हे ॥ १ ॥ तुम् or तुम् । तुम्हे ॥ २ ॥ ते or तुम्हे or तद्
or तम् । तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहि or तुम्हेहि ॥ ३ ॥ तुम् or तुम्ह or तुम्ह । तुम्हाण or
तुम्हाद् or तुम्ह ॥ ४ ॥ तुम्हाहि or तुम्हादितो or तुम्हाद्यो or तदन्तो । तुम्हेदितो ॥ ५ ॥
तुम् or तुम्ह or तुम्ह । तुम्हाण or तुम्हाद् or तुम्ह ॥ ६ ॥ तद् or तुम्हिम् । तुम्हेसु
or तुम्हेषु ॥ ७ ॥

(१) A adds हिच्, B C D insert हि after °तु० ॥ (२) A गयणाद्यो, गयणाड
with ā, B C D गयणाद्यो । गयणाड (with a) (३) A गयणादितो (with ā), it
also adds गयणाहि (with ā), while B C D prefix it (४) C D add एव देवादयः ॥
(५) A B D °मो ॥ (६) A om षष्ठी ॥ (७) C D ततः ॥ (८) A B तस्या ॥ (९) So A,
B C D रूप ॥ (१०) A B C गुणा ॥ (११) A D गुणा ॥ (१२) A B om the two last
examples (१३) A B C D एव ॥ (१४) D om this example, but, on the other
hand, adds तयो रूपं से रूपं । तामा रूप से रूप ॥ (१५) B °व्या ॥ (१६) C D अतः ॥
(१७) So in MS, as mas.

॥ १७ ॥ 'तुम मो सविभक्ते' ॥ १८ ॥

तुमस्यस्य सविभक्ते मो परत^(१) तुम आदेशो भवति ॥ (१) तुम
देते^(२) ॥ (C D) ॥

॥ १९ ॥ 'अमि परे' ॥ २० ॥

तुमदे अमि परे^(३) तुमं भवति तुष च । सविभक्ते ॥ तुम भणामि^(४)
तुष भणामि^(५) ॥ (C D) ॥

॥ २१ ॥ 'तुमदे' ॥ २२ ॥

तुमदे^(६) अमि परे तुमं^(७) भवति । सविभक्ते ॥ तुमं^(८) मनुष्यै^(९)
तुमं^(१०) ॥

॥ २३ ॥ 'तुमं' ॥ २४ ॥

तुमस्य^(११) अमि परे तुमं^(१२) भवति । सविभक्ते ॥ तुमं^(१३) मनुष्या^(१४)
भणामि^(१५) ॥

* C D read 'तुम' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ २३ ॥ C D read 'तुम' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (ii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (iii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (iv) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (v) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (vi) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (vii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (viii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (ix) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (x) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xi) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (xii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xiii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xiv) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (xv) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xvi) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xvii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥
'तुमस्य' ॥ (xviii) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xix) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥ (xx) ॥ 'तुमस्य' ॥

(१) C reads 'तुम' तुमं तुमं ॥ तुम मो परत, D स तुं तुं तुं तुम मो परत ॥
(२) C D read परत परे परे आदेशो भवति ॥ (३) C reads स तु तुं तुं ॥ स तुम
देते ॥ (४) C देते, D देते ॥ (५) C D place this entry after the following
(६) C D add तुमं न ॥ (७) C D read तुष तुम न च भवति । सविभक्ते ॥ (८) C
D place this example before the other, and add स भणामि ॥ (९) C D place
this sūtra before the preceding one (२०) So B, A तुमं, C तुमं, D तुमं ॥
(११) A places 'अमि परे' after भणामि ॥ (१२) So B, A सविभक्ते, C D सविभक्ते,
in C सविभक्ते is corrected by later hand, but the original reading (सविभक्ते
is supported by the marginal gloss (१३) (१४) A तुम, B तुम, C D add
the Shr translation 'तुम' मनुष्या तुम (C in MS तुम) ॥ (१५) A तुम, B तुम ॥
(१६) A तुम ॥ (१७) A तुम, C D तुम ॥ (१८) C D add Shr 'तुम' मनुष्या
भणामि ॥

॥ 23 ॥ ते तुमे तद् तए टायां^(१) ॥ २३ ॥

युद्धदः^(१) टावचने ^(२)परे ते तुमे तद् तए एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ किं^(३) ते कतं^(४) । तुमे *दिटो^(५) । तद् मज्झं^(६) कतं^(७) ।
तए पल्लात^(८) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ तुमाहिं तुमाहितो^(९) तुमातो^(१०) तदत्तो^(११) पंचम्यां ॥ २४ ॥

युद्धदः^(११) पंचम्येकवचने परे तुमाहिं^(१२) तुमाहितो^(१३) तुमातो^(१४)
तदत्तो^(१५) एते आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुमाहिं अहं सूरु^(१६)
तुमाहितो^(१७) अहं सुहओ^(१८) । तुमातो^(१९) अहं ॥ नाणी^(१९) ।
तदत्तो^(१९) निक्खतो^(२०) ॥ (C D) ॥

* C दिटो । दट् ॥ खरारि० (ii, 5) इत्य् अनेन ऋवेण द इत्य् अल्ल दि भवति (दिट्) ।
वर्गे (iii, 3) इत्य् अनेन ऋवेण द इति पकारस्य लोपः । ट स्थित (दिट्) । लोपे० (iii, 24)
दिट् । तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 दिट्) । एदोद० (ii, 10 दिट्) । खराणा० (ii, 1 दिट्) ॥
† C B तथा मध्य छत ॥ ‡ B पल्लात । प्रल्लात ॥ C पल्लात । प्रल्लात ॥ § B लद्ध
जानी ॥ ॥ C जानी । वर्णविच्छेपे छते सति ज्ञा इति स्थितं । शाब्द० (iii, 6) इत्य् अनेन
जलोपः (जानी) । जजथाना० (iii, 19 नानी) । तवर्मध्य० (iii, 16 नाणी) ॥

(१) B च टा ॥ (२) A C D ०दृ ॥ (३) A om परे-एते incl (४) A किन्ते ॥
(५) A B C D कय, C D add the Skr translations कि तथा छत । तथा दट् ।
तथा मस (B मध्य in marginal gloss, q v) छत । तथा प्रल्लात (so C, D प्रल्लात) ॥
(६) A B दिटो, C दिटो, D दिटो (?) ॥ (७) A मज्झ कय, B मज्झकिय, C D मज्झ कय ॥
(८) A पल्लात, B पल्लात, C पल्लात, D पल्लात ॥ (९) B तुमाहितो ॥ (१०) A D तुमाच,
B C तुमाओ ॥ (११) C D तदत्तो ॥ (१२) A ०दृ ॥ (१३) A तुमाहिन् इत्यादय, om
the other forms (१४) B तुमाहितो, A om (१५) B C तुमाओ, D तुमाच, A om
(१६) B सूरु, D adds the Skr translations लद्ध अहं सुहओ । लद्ध अहं सुहओ । लद्ध
अहं जानी । लद्ध अहं निक्खत, C om* them in the text, but gives them in the
marginal gloss (१७) A om तुमाहितो ॥ (१८) B orig सुहओ, corr सु०, D
सुहओ ॥ (१९) B नाणी, A C D णाणी (see iii, 6 iii, 19) (२०) So D, C णि०,
A निक्खान्ना, B रक्खवतो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ तुष्ट तुज्ज^(१) तुष्ट^(२) पण्णा^(३) ॥ २५ ॥

अमदः पण्णकवचने परे^(४) तुष्ट तुज्ज^(५) तुष्ट^(६) एते आदेशा भवन्ति ।
सविभक्तेः ॥ *तुष्ट मीलं^(७) । तुज्ज^(८) कणाओ^(९) । तुष्ट^(१०) गुणा^(११) ॥

॥ 25^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २५^{*} ॥

॥ 25^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २५^{*} ॥

॥ 26 ॥ अमदः ॥ २६ ॥

अत^(१२) ऊर्द्ध^(१३) अमदधायो भवति^(१४) ॥

॥ 26^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २६^{*} ॥

॥ 26^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २६^{*} ॥

॥ 26^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २६^{*} ॥

॥ 26^{*} ॥ C D ॥ २६^{*} ॥

॥ 27 ॥ से मण टायां ॥ २७ ॥

अमदः^(१५) टावचने परे से मण भवतः । सविभक्तेः^(१६) ॥ से कत^(१७) ।
मण दिट्ठं^(१८) ॥

॥ 28 ॥ सदन्ते^(१९) ऊर्द्धा ॥ २८ ॥

* (१) तय शीलं । तय कणा । तय गुणा. ॥ † B मया कृत ॥

(१) A तुभ, B तुभ्भ. (२) B तुभ, C D तुब्दा ॥ (३) A om तुष्ट, तुज्ज, तुब्दा ॥
(४) B तुभ्भ. (५) B तुभ, D तुब्दा ॥ (६) A शीलं ॥ (७) A कालायो, B कला ॥
(८) A B तुभ ॥ (९) A गुणी ॥ (१०) B इत, D अत ॥ (११) B C D ऊर्द्धं ॥
(१२) A निप्यते ॥ (१३) A C दप् ॥ (१४) A B om (१५) A B C D कय,
C D add the Skr translations मया कृत । मया कृत ॥ (१६) A दिट्ठ, B दिट्ठ ॥
(१७) So A, B C D सदन्ते ॥

अस्मदः^(१) पञ्चमेकवचने परे मदन्तो^(२) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ *मदन्तो^(३)
तुमं सूरौ^(४) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ अन्धादितो^(५) भ्यसि ॥ २९ ॥

अस्मदो^(६) भ्यसि परे अन्धादितो^(५) भवति । सविभक्तेः^(७) ॥ अन्धादितो^(८)
तुमं सूरौ^(९) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ ^(१०)मह मज्झ^(११) ङसि ॥ ३० ॥

अस्मदः षष्ठ्येकवचने परे मह मज्झ^(१२) भवतः । सविभक्तेः ॥ मह
शीलं^(१३) । मज्झ गुणा^(१४) ॥

॥ 31 ॥ अहम्^(१५) आसि ॥ ३१ ॥

अस्मद^(१६) आसि परे अहम्^(१७) भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अहम्^(१८) चिय
ते दोषा^(१९) ॥

॥ 31^a ॥ ॥ C D ॥ ३१^a ॥

॥ I. ॥ इति चंडकते प्राकृततलचण्णे विभक्तिविधानं प्रथमं समाप्तं ॥ १ ॥

* C मदन्तो । सन् ॥ † C मम शीलं^(१८) । मम गुणा ॥ ‡ B अस्माकन्ते दोषा. ॥

(१) A °दम् ॥ (२) C D मदन्तो, B दन्तो om स; A ने सए भवत (see 1, 27).
(३) A मदन्तो, B C D मदन्तो ॥ (४) A शूर, B places it before तुम, D adds
Skr translation त्व शूर ॥ (५) A अन्धादितो ॥ (६) B °द ॥ (७) A B C om
(८) A अन्धादितो, B अन्धा° ॥ (९) A शूरौ ॥ (१०) B om sūtra and comment,
but gives the examples (११) A मज्झ, C D मज्झौ ॥ (१२) A शील, C D add
मज्झ शील । मह गुणा ॥ (१३) B शील ॥ (१४) D अहम् ॥ (१५) B C D °द ॥
(१६) D अहम् ॥ (१७) B दोषा, C D add the Skr. translation अस्माकम् एव ते
दोषा. ॥ (१८) MS. चिल ॥

॥ II ॥ अथ स्वरविधानम् आह ॥ २ ॥

॥ 1^a ॥ D ॥ १^क ॥॥ 1 ॥ 1 ॥ स्वराणां स्वरे^(१) प्रकृतिलोपसंघयः ॥ १ ॥

स्वराणां स्वरे परे^(२) ^(२)प्रकृतिर् लोपस् संघयश् च भवन्ति । *इह^(३)
 अच्कति^(४) । †इहच्कति^(५) । ‡इहागतो^(६) ॥ †मह^(७) इव हितो ।
 ॥देविंदवंदितो^(८) । †सक्तीसाणा^(१०) ॥ **स ईसरो^(११) । †तियसीसो^(१२) ।
 †गहेसो^(१३) ॥ †चंदुज्जला^(१४) ॥ †तपोपरोहो ॥ ^(१५)सा ऊढा ।
 †नीसासूसासा^(१६) । ***सोरो^(१७) ॥ ††गामत्रो^(१८) गामो ॥

* C इह अच्कद । प्रकृति । अच तिष्ठति । अस्य साधनिका । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्य् अनेन
 अकारस्य इ भवति (इच) । रेफ० (iii, 9 इत) । प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन तकारस्य
 यकार (इय) । पुन प्रथम० (iii, 11) इत्यनेन यकारस्य धकार (इध) । हो० (iii, 13 इह) ।
 इह इति सिद्धं ॥ तिष्ठति^(१९) । कगचज० (iii, 34 इष्टति) । खरो० (ii, 4) इत्यनेन
 इकारस्य अकार (अष्टति) । पाट् (iii, 8 अयति) । रश्पा० (iii, 18 अयति) । सस्य खह्वा
 (iii, 14 अयति) । लोपे० (iii, 24) तस्मिन्० (iii, 26 अयति) । पुन कगचज० (iii,
 34 अच्कद) ॥ † B C अच अकारस्य लोप ॥ ‡ B इहागत । C सधि । अच आगत ॥
 § B मख इव दित ॥ ॥ C लोपः । देवेन्द्रवन्दित ॥ † B शक्रस्य^(२०) ईशानस्य । अलोप ॥
 C लोप । शक्र अग्रे ईशान । द्विवयणे वल्लवयण (see ii, 12) । शक्रस्य ईशानस्य
 शक्रेशानौ ॥ ** B स ईश्वर । C सधि । शचा ईश्वर । शचीश्वर ॥ †† C लोप । विदश
 अग्रे ईश । विदशेश । विदशाना ईश ॥ ‡‡ C सधि । प्रहाणा ईशः ॥ §§ C लोप ।
 चद्र अग्रे उज्जला । चद्रवत् उज्जला ॥ ††† B तपस उपरोध । C सधि । तपोपरोध ॥
 ††† B नि श्वासस्य उच्चास्य । अलोप । C लोप । (११) नि श्वासस्य उच्चास्य । नि श्वासे-
 ष्चासौ ॥ *** C सधि । सोरो । मयूरः ॥ ††† B ग्रामत ग्राम । C गामाज गामो । प्रकृति ।
 गामो गामो । सधि । ग्रामान् ग्राम । but see note to translation

(१) B om (२) B C D परत ॥ (३) So A B, C D प्रकृतिलोपसंघयश्च ॥ (४) A
 has only the examples marked * and §, om all others, B places *, §, †, ‡
 (५) A अच्कई, B C D अच्कद ॥ (६) B C D इहच्कद ॥ (७) B इहागत, C इहागसो, D
 इहागत ॥ (८) A महई वदित, B महईवदिय (see marginal gloss), C D om this
 example (९) B ०दिज, D ०दिज, A C om (see ii, 2) (१०) B ०शाणे, A om.
 (११) C D सईसरो, B सइसरो, A om (१२) B तीसो, A om (१३) B गहसो, A om
 (१४) B वदज्जला, A om (१५) B सोढो, C सो ऊढो, D भाऊढा or डाऊढा (१६) ॥
 (१७) So B, A om, C D सीसा० ॥ (१८) C D add मकरो ॥ (१९) B गामानामो । गामो
 गामाज गामो, C गामाज गामो, D गामाज गामो ॥ (२०) So MS and accordingly
 the explanation पाट् ॥ (२०) MS. शक्रस्य ईशानस्य ॥ (२१) MS नि श्वा०, उच्चा० ॥

बुद्धी^(१) इमा* । †बुद्धिदो^(२) । बुद्धीसो† ॥ बुद्धीओ^(३) । नईओ^(४) ॥

॥ 1^b ॥ D ॥ १^a ॥

॥ 1^c ॥ D ॥ १^d ॥

॥ 2 ॥ ^(४)संयोगे परे लोपः ॥ २ ॥

^(४)संयोगे परे खरे परतः पूर्वखरख^(५) नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥ धनाब्धः^(६)
धनड्डो^(७) । देव इन्द्रः^(८) देविंदो । द्यत उद्योगः^(९) कतुज्जोओ^(१०) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥ ३ ॥

खराणां ह्रस्वं^(११) भवति । ^(१२)संयोगोऽचरे^(१२) परे ॥ ^(१४)कच्चं^(१५) ।
कच्चं । ॥इच्छितं^(१६) । तिक्खां । **सिग्घो^(१७) । ††उड्डु^(१८) । सुज्जो^(१९) ॥

॥ 4 ॥ खरोऽन्त्योऽन्यस्य ॥ ४ ॥

* C बुद्धी इमा । प्रकृति ॥ † B बुद्धीन्द्र । C लोप । बुद्धि इद्र ॥ ‡ C बुद्धीसो ।
सधि ॥ § C प्रकृति । बुद्धय । नद्य ॥ ॥ B ईप्सित । C इच्छिच । ईप्सित ॥ शे वर्गाद्य
(III, 4 ईप्सित) । सस्य० (III, 14 ईप्सित) । लोपे० (III, 24) तस्मिन्० (III, 26 ईप्सित) ।
ह्रस्वं (II, 3 ईप्सित) । कगचज० (III, 34 ईप्सित) ॥ ¶ C तौक्ष्ण । वर्णविशेषे । छते
सति क् प् ण् च इति स्थिता भवन्ति । रशपा० (III, 18 तौक्ष्ण) । शाच० (III, 6 तौक्ष्ण) ।
शे० (III, 4 तौक्ष्ण) । सस्य० (III, 14 तौक्ष्ण) । लोपे० (III, 24) तस्मिन् (III, 26 तौक्ष्ण) ।
ह्रस्वं (II, 3 तौक्ष्ण) ॥ ** B स्निग्ध ॥ †† B ऊर्द्ध ॥

(१) B D व० here and afterwards (२) B D बुद्धीदो (but see marginal
gloss) (३) B prefixes एव बुद्धी ॥ (४) C D संयोगपरे ॥ (५) A पूर्वखरूपस्य ॥
(६) A ०ड्डु, B ०य ॥ (७) A धनाड्डो, B धनड्डो, C D धणड्डो ॥ (८) B देवेन्द्र ॥ (९) A
उद्यो, C D उद्योत ॥ (१०) A कतुज्जो, B C कउज्जोओ, D कउज्जोउ ॥ (११) C prefixes
पूर्वस्य ॥ (१२) C D place this clause before ह्रस्वं ॥ (१३) C D संयोगाचरे ॥ (१४) C
prefixes धणड्डो (see II, 2), C D prefix the Skt translations काय । कार्य । ईप्सित ।
तौक्ष्ण । शीघ्र । ऊर्द्ध । स्वर्य ; see also B in the marginal gloss (१५) B कच्च ॥
(१६) A B C D इच्छिच ॥ (१७) A om this and the remaining examples, C
सिग्घा ॥ (१८) B उड्ड (see III, 5 9), C D उड्ड ॥ (१९) B सुज्जा ॥

खरो ऽन्यो ऽन्यस्य स्थाने भवति ॥ *कातळं^(१) । †सुदणं^(२) । इंगाला^(३) ।
B C D । ‡बुद्धीए^(४) । घेनूए^(५) । नेपुरं^(६) । B C D । कुत्रापि गच्छति^(७)
कत्थ^(८) पि गच्छति^(९) ॥

॥ ५ ॥ खरा^(१०) रि च ऋवर्णस्य^(११) ॥ ५ ॥

ऋवर्णस्य स्थाने खरा^(१२) भवन्ति । रि च भवति^(१३) ॥ घृतं घतं^(१४) ।
छत्वा कातण^(१५) । दृश्यते दीसते^(१६) । ऋषिः^(१७) इमि^(१८) । पृथ्वी
पुथ्वी^(१९) । दृद्धः^(२०) बुद्धो^(२१) । वृंतं^(२२) वेंटं^(२३) । उल्लष्टं उल्लोसं^(२४) ।
ऋणं रिणं । (CD) ॥

॥ ६ ॥ (२५)एर ऐतः ॥ ६ ॥

ऐतः^(२६) स्थाने ए भवति ॥ ‡वेतड्डो^(२७) । तेल्लं^(२८) । सेंधवं ।
॥ वैरं^(२९) ॥

॥ ७ ॥ अइ च ॥ ७ ॥

* B कर्तव्य ॥ † B सूचीना (२०) ॥ ‡ C बुद्धा ॥ § B चेताल ॥ ॥ C मस वैर
केनापि सच्च न ॥

(१) A कायच, B कायच, C कायव्व, D कायव्व (see III, 29 and Lassen Inst
Prac pp 141 365), CD add the following Skr translations कर्तव्य । खजन ।
अगारा, see also B in the marginal gloss (२) A असुदण, D खदण ॥ (३) A
इंगाल, B इंगाली ॥ (४) A B D बु०, D prefixes बुद्धे ॥ (५) A C D घेणूए ॥ (६) A
नेपुर, B नेऊर, C ऐवर, D ऐउर ॥ (७) A om (८) A om, B कत्थ पि, D कच्छ
पि ॥ (९) A B C D गच्छइ ॥ (१०) B खरो ॥ (११) B om (१२) B reads अन्यखरो
भवति ॥ (१३) A om (१४) A B C D घत ॥ (१५) A कातण, B काडुण, C D काऊण,
D adds वूण प्रत्यय ॥ (१६) A B C दीसइ, D दीसर ॥ (१७) So C, A B D ऋषि ॥
(१८) So A B C D, CD add व्यास ऋषिः वास इसी ॥ (१९) A B C D पुथ्वी ॥ (२०) A
B C D दृद्धो ॥ (२१) A B बुद्धो, C D बुद्धो ॥ (२२) A B D वृत्त ॥ (२३) A विट, B वित,
C D विट ॥ (२४) A उल्लोस, B उल्लोसो, C उल्ल । स, D उल्लस (see III, 8) (२५) A
एरेत ॥ (२६) A एत ॥ (२७) A वेतड्डो, B वेयड्डो, C D वेयड्डो, CD prefix the Skr
translations वैताय । तेल्ल । सेंधव । वैर, see also B in marg gloss (२८) A
तेल्ल ॥ (२९) C D add मव्व ए केण पि (see marg gloss) (३०) MS सूचीना ॥

ऐतः^(१) स्थाने अद्^(२) च^(३) भवति । ऐत्यर्थ^(४) अद्मरिचं^(५) । वैर^(६) वद्^(७) ॥

॥ 8 ॥ ओर्^(८) औतः ॥ ८ ॥

औतः^(८) स्थाने ओ^(१०) भवति ॥ ^(११)ओसह^(१२) । ^(१३)सोवचलं^(१४) ॥

॥ 9 ॥ अउ^(१५) च ॥ ९ ॥

औतः^(८) स्थाने अउ च^(१६) भवति ॥ ^(१७)सउरो^(१८) । कउरवा । कउला । (CD) ॥

॥ 10 ॥ एदोद्गलोपा^(१९) विसर्जनीचस्य^(२०) ॥ १० ॥

एत्त्रोत्त्रलोपा^(२१) विसर्जनीचस्य स्थाने भवन्ति ॥ कतरे^(२२) गच्छति^(२३) । *दित्तरूपे^(२४) । देवो । विंभणो । पुणरपि^(२५) । स^(२६) । एस^(२६) । ^(२७)वति^(२६) । बुद्धि^(२८) । वृद्ध^(२९) ।

॥ 11 ॥ ^(३०)अदागभोऽनुस्वारलोपौ च व्यंजनस्य^(३१) ॥ ११ ॥

* C दीप्तरूप ॥ † C ब्राह्मण ॥ ‡ C पुणर वि । (पुन अपि) । र प्रत्यय (ii, 10 पुनरपि) । अथ्यस्योर् छलोप (ii, 18 पुनरपि) । प्रथमस्य० (iii, 12 यणरवि) ॥ § C वधू ॥

(१) A B एत ॥ (२) B अर्द ॥ (३) C om B इत्ययमादेशो ॥ (४) C ऐत्यर्थ ॥ (५) B CD •रिच ॥ (६) D वैर ॥ (७) B om , C D add the example वै वद्, whereto C has the marg gloss वै स्फुटनिश्चययो ॥ (८) A ऊर्, D उर् ॥ (९) B औत ॥ (१०) A ऊर्, B ऊ, D उ ॥ (११) C pref Shr औपथ D ऊपथ ॥ (१२) A ऊसह, D उसह ॥ (१३) C pref Shr औचल, D औवर्चल ॥ (१४) A सोवचल, C सोचल, D सोचचल . C D add the example औष सोह ॥ (१५) B अथो ॥ (१६) B C om (१७) C D pret Shr और । कौरवा । कौला ॥ (१८) B सउरि ॥ (१९) A •प, D •पा, B (corrupt) एदोद्गले ॥ या ॥ (२०) B •नीचस्थाने ॥ (२१) B (corrupt) एदो दलोपा ॥ (२२) A कपोरे, B कयादि, C D read कयरे and pref Shr कतर गच्छति ॥ (२३) A गच्छद्, B C D गच्छद्, C D add the example अत पुर । अनेउर ॥ (२४) A दित्तरूपे, B तित्तरूपे, D दित्तरूपे, C adds वीलजिणे (in marg gloss वीरजिन), D वीलजिणे ॥ (२५) D पुणरपि, C D pref Shr पुन अपि, A om this example, B adds एत दिङ् (MS एय दिङ्) ॥ (२६) A om (२७) B C D वद्, C adds Shr पति, D पति ॥ (२८) A B बुद्धौ, D बुद्धौ, C had originilly बुद्धौ, now it has been changed to वधू, B C D place वद्ध ॥ बुद्धौ ॥ (२९) A, वद्ध, B वद्ध ॥ (३०) C D अदागमानुस्वारलोपा, om च ॥ (३१) A विञ्जनस्य ॥

(^१) अकारागमोऽनुस्वारलोपो च व्यंजनस्य भवन्ति ॥ *अरहन्तो(^२) ।
मरिताण(^३) । (CD) ॥ कर्म(^४) : (CD) । ऐसीस(^५) ॥ नह(^६) ।
सिरेण(^७) । (CD) ॥

॥ 12 ॥ गद्विं वज्रवनेन(^८) ॥ १२ ॥

(^९) दिवचनं वज्रवचनेन(^{१०}) वाच्यं ॥ **इत्या । पाया । देवा ।
वंभणा(^{११}) । CD ॥

॥ 13 ॥ षष्ठीवच(^{१२}) चतुर्थी ॥ १३ ॥

षष्ठीवच(^{१२}) चतुर्थी द्रष्टव्या ॥ †नमो(^{१३}) जिनस्स(^{१४}) । नमो(^{१५})
गुरुणो(^{१६}) ॥

॥ 13^a ॥ CD ॥ १३^a ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ CD ॥ १३^b ॥

* C अर्हन् । अदागम ॥ † B सरित् इति अच तकारस्य अच् आगम ॥ C सरित् ।
अदागम ॥ ‡ B कर्मन्निति अच रेफलोपो नकारोऽनुस्वारः (sic¹) ॥ C कर्मन् ॥ § B
श्रीपमित्यच रेफलोप (sic¹) ॥ C गिरस् ॥ || B गिरसि(१०) सलोपः ॥ C गिरस ॥ ¶ C
दुवयणे(१८) वज्रवयण चत्तत्विभिन्नीए ऋद्धी(१९) भणए । जह हत्य तह पाया । वदामि
देवाह(२०) देवाण ॥ ** C हसौ । पादौ । देवौ । ब्राह्मणौ ॥ †† B नमो जिनाय इति
नमो गुरवे इत्यच चतुर्थी षष्ठी ज्ञेया ॥ C नमः जिनाय । नमः गुरवे ॥

(१) A adds भवन्ति, C D read अकारागमानुस्वारलोपाश्च ॥ (२) B अरहन्तो ॥ (३)
A सरियाण, B C D सरियाण ॥ (४) B adds रम्म (सम्म?, see App C D), D
prefixes कर्मन्, श्रीर्षन्, गिरसा to कर्म, सीस, सिरेण respectively (५) A सीम ॥
(६) B नेह, A C D om (७) A om (८) C D वज्रवचनेन ॥ (९) C D prefix
सर्वासा स्यादीनां त्यादीना च विभक्तीना ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) A वंभणा (see II, 15)
(१२) B C D om (१३) B षष्ठी, D षष्ठीव ॥ (१४) C D एमो ॥ (१५) A जिणस्स, B
जिनस्स, C D जिणस्स ॥ (१६) C D add एमो अरहताण ॥ (१७) MS गिरसि ॥ (१८)
MS दुव्व० ॥ (१९) MS now has चत्तत्विभिन्नीए, om ऋद्धी, but in the place of त्वि
and त्ति there were originally different readings, which are now obliterated with
yellow pigment and can no more be made out. (२०) MS. देवाहि (cf. I, 5).

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतडञ्जाः^(१) ॥ १४ ॥

(१) सुता वर्णाः (२) डकारञ्कारौ च^(४) न भवन्ति ॥ C D । D ॥

॥ 15 ॥ अनुस्वारो वज्रं ॥ १५ ॥

अनुस्वारस्य कचिल् लोपो भवति । कचिद् आगमः^(५) । कचित् प्रकृतिः^(६) ।
। C D ॥ वंभणा^(७) । *मंजरो^(८) । विंचुओ^(९) । चिंन्नी^(१०) । काणं^(११) ।
काहं^(१२) । नईहं^(१३) ॥ †सकृतं^(१४) । (C D) ॥ संगो^(१५) । भंगो^(१६) ।
(C D) । दुहं^(१७) । समिहं^(१८) ॥

॥ 16 ॥ गोर् गावि^(१९) ॥ १६ ॥

गो शब्दस्य गावि^(१९) इति^(२०) भवति निपातेन ॥ गेगावी^(२१) ।
गावीओ^(२२) । गावीं^(२३) । गावीए^(२४) । गावीहिं^(२५) । गावीहितो^(२६) ।
गावीणं^(२७) । गावीसुं^(२८) ॥

* C साकारः ॥ † C चूर्णं (cf note १०) ‡ C सकृतं ॥ § C गौ । गावः or गा ।
गां । गवा । गे । गोः । गवि (see 1, 9) । गोभिः । गोभ्यः । गवा or गोना । गोपु ॥

(१) C D insert न (see III, 16) (२) C सुतवर्णा, D सुता ॥ (३) C D read
डकारनकारञकाराश्च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ (४) B om (५) C D नो भवति ॥ (६) C D
प्रकृतिर्भवति (see App) (७) D वंभणो ॥ (८) So A, B मंजरो (see H C II, 132),
C D read मञ्जारो (see H. C I, 26) and add वज्जरो (see H C II, 132), D
further adds आगम ॥ (९) A om, B विंचुओ, D has विंचुओ with प्रकृति after it,
C reads विंचुओ which is explained in the marginal gloss as विंचुओः । प्रकृति ॥
(१०) A चुन्नी, B चुन्नी, C चुन्नी, D चुन्नी ॥ (११) So A, B काणं (कातूण ? see II,
5), C D काणं (see H C I, 27) (१२) A काहं, B काह (कातु ? see Lassen,
p 365 H C IV, 214) (१३) C D एहि, D gives it as an example of लोप,
C explains it in the marginal gloss as नही, originally the gloss had नहि,
but it has been corrected to नही ॥ (१४) A om, B C D सकृत ॥ (१५) C D om.,
but see App (१६) A गावि, D गावी ॥ (१७) D गावी ॥ (१८) B इति निपात्यते, C D
इत्य आदेशो भवति ॥ (१९) B गावि, C D गाई ॥ (२०) A गावीक, B गाविओ, D गावीओ;
C D add गावीओ । गावी । (२१) A B om (२२) A D गावीए, B गाविए ॥ (२३) A
गावीहि, D गावीहिं ॥ (२४) D गावीए ॥ (२५) D गावीसु, C D add गावीसु ॥

॥ 17 ॥ एवार्थे ^(१)एदचेयचियाः^(२) ॥ १७ ॥

^(१)एव शब्दार्थे एद ^(२)चेय चिय एते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ गत्या एव
^(३)गति एद । ^(४)मति एद । *तं चेय^(५) । सिचिय^(६) ॥

॥ 18 ॥ अप्यस्योर अलोपः ॥ १८ ॥

अपि असि च^(८) एतयोर अस्य लोपो भवति^(९) ॥ ^(१०)सूरो पि ।
^(११)कतं पि । तं सि इह ॥

॥ 19 ॥ ^(१२)त्तु ता खा हु चुं त्त्तु^(१३) ओ^(१४)प्पि^(१५)पूर्वकालार्थे^(१६) ॥ १९ ॥

एते^(१७) पूर्वकालार्थे^(१८) भवति ॥ वंदित्तु^(१९) । वंदित्ता^(२०) । त्सुच्चा^(२१) ।
॥ कट्टु । ॥ भोत्तु^(२२) । ॥ भोत्तूण^(२३) । वंदिओ^(२४) । ^(२५)एवं कप्पि** ।
C D ॥

॥ 20 ॥ सत्वर्थे ^(२६)आलद्वौ^(२७) ॥ २० ॥

* B तमेव ॥ † B स एव ॥ ‡ B C वदित्ता ॥ § B शुक्ता । C भुक्ता (see note १९
॥ B C छत्ता ॥ ॥ C भुक्ता^(२८) ** B एव छत्ता ॥

(१) A B नद० ॥ (२) A ०चेय विय, B ०चियेम् ॥ (३) B एव ॥ (४) A B C D गइ ॥
(५) A C सइ एद, B सई एद, D om whole example, C prefixes Skr सत्या एव ॥
(६) A तन्वेय, D त चेय, C pref Skr त एव, D तत् एव ॥ (७) So B, A ०चिय (चिय ?
see p 20, note १९), C ०चिय, D ०चेय, C D pref Skr स एव ॥ (८) B C D अनयोर
अलोपो भवति ॥ (९) A लोपः स्यात् ॥ (१०) A B C D वि, C D pref Skr transl प्रदर
अपि । छतम् अपि । तम् असि अत्र ॥ (११) A कच पि, B कच प्पि, C D कच वि ॥ (१२) A तु ॥
(१३) C D add तुच्चाण ॥ (१४) D ज, C D add वि ॥ (१५) C D om, but add प्पिणु
वेप्पिणु ॥ (१६) So A, B C D om (१७) B D om (१८) B C पूर्वकालार्थे, C adds
त्वा इत्यस्यैते आदेशा भवन्ति ॥ (१९) A वदित्तु, B वदित्तु, C D add सव्वे वि जिणिंदवदे ।
वदित्ता सर्वान् अपि जिनेद्रचद्रान् ॥ (२०) B वदित्ता ॥ (२१) A सुच्चा, C D भुच्चा ॥ (२२) D
भोत्तु ॥ (२३) C भोत्तूण, D भोत्तूण or भोत्तूण ?, C D add काउच्चाण, see App (२४)
A वदित्तु, D वदित्तु, C D add वदेवि ॥ (२५) A एउ क०, B एय क०, C D om this
example (२६) A आल D अल ॥ (२७) A दल, B दल ॥ (२८) MS भोक्ता

मत्वर्थे^(१) एतौ प्रत्ययौ^(२) भवतः^(३) ॥ ^(४)जडालो^(५) जडिल्लो^(६) ।
फडालो^(७) फडिल्लो^(८) । (C D) ॥

॥ 21 ॥ ताताव^(९) तावतः ॥ २१ ॥

तावच् कन्दस्य^(१०) ता तावौ^(११) भवतः ॥ (C D) ॥

ता* विच्छिन्नं^(१२) गयणं ताव च्चि^(१३) जलहिणो^(१४) पि^(१५) गभीरा ।

ता^(१६)†गुरुआ^(१७)सुरसेला^(१८)धारेहि^(१९)न^(२०)जाव लिज्जते^(२१)॥२॥

॥ 22 ॥ उपमाने पिवद्भविविवि^(२२)व्व^(२३)वज्झा^(२४) वतः ॥ २२ ॥

उपमानार्थे^(२५) वतः^(२६) शब्दस्य एते आदेशा अवति ॥ च्चंदणं^(२७)

पिव । चमरमिव । क्लमलं विव तुज्झ^(२८) सुहं । गिम्हो^(२९) विव ।

सायरव्व^(३०) ।

* C तावत् विच्छिर्णे गगन तावत् एव जलधय च गभीरा । यावत् गुरुः सुरसेल
घाराभिः न यावत् गृह्यते ॥ † C गुरुआ । गुरु । एदोद्र० (u, 10 गुरुआ) । खरो०
(u, 4 गुरुआ) । प्रथमैकवचन सिद्ध ॥ ‡ C चदण । अनुखारो वज्झ (u, 15) § C तव
मुख कमलवत् (२१) ॥

(१) B om, C D add आल इल ॥ (२) A om (३) A स्य ॥ (४) C D prefix Skr
translations जडामान् । फडामान् ॥ (५) A जडालो ॥ (६) B जडिल्लो, and places ६, ५
(७) A फडालो, B orig फडालो, but corrected to फडालो ॥ (८) B फडिल्लो
placing ८, ७ (९) C D read ता-ताव-जा-जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ (१०) C D add
यावच्छब्दस्य तु ॥ (११) C D add जाजावौ ॥ (१२) A वच्छिन्न, C D विच्छिन्न ॥ (१३) A
च्चि, C D विव ॥ (१४) B जपहिणो ॥ (१५) A व, B वि, C D य ॥ (१६) C D जा, A
om this line (१७) D गुरुआ ॥ (१८) B सुरसेल ॥ (१९) B धीरेहि, c m (२०) C D
ए ॥ (२१) B जा तुलिज्जति, C D जाव लिज्जति ॥ (२२) B विव ॥ (२३) D व्व (see H
C u, 150) (२४) B वज्झा (sic) (२५) A om, C उपमानेऽर्थे, D उपमार्थे, B adds
पिव इव विव विव व्व वज्झा ॥ (२६) A वच् ह०, C वतु, D वत ॥ (२७) A B व०, C D
prefix the Skr translations चदनवत् । चमरवत् (D MS चमर वत्) । कमलवत् ।
घोषवत् । सागरवत् (D सावरवत्) । शेषवत् ॥ (२८) A तुज्झ, B तुम्भ ॥ (२९) C गिम्ह,
D गिम्ह ॥ (३०) D सायरव्व, A अद्योपस्य, B घोषवो ॥ (३१) MS कमल विव ॥

सेमत्सु व^(१) * एम^(२) फणो तुह^(३) भाति^(४) जसे जहा मंखो^(५) ॥

॥ 23 ॥ श्रीलम्^(६) अवापयोः ॥ २३ ॥

अवअपयोः स्याने ओ^(७) भवति ॥ अवहसितं^(८) ओहसितं^(९) ।
अपसरितं^(१०) ओसरितं^(११) । अपवरकः^(१२) ओवरओ^(१३) ॥

॥ 24 ॥ खलोः^(१४) सुः ॥ २४ ॥

खलुशब्दस्य स्वर आदेशो भवति ॥ CD । एवं खु^(१५) जंतपीलणं ॥
॥ 25 ॥ तो वर्त्तमानार्थे^(१६) ॥ २५ ॥

यो वर्त्तमानकालार्थे^(१७) आन प्रत्ययम्^(१८) तस्यार्थे तकारो भवति ॥
भिद्यमानं^(१९) भिज्जंतं । कय्यमानं कयिज्जंतं^(२०) । साध्यमानं^(२१)
साद्धिज्जंतं^(२२) । Δ ॥

॥ 26 ॥ ^(२३)सं सर्वासु युगाद ॥ २६ ॥

^(२४)युग्मच् छब्दस्य सर्वासु^(२५) विभक्तिषु^(२६) भे^(२७) भवति ॥ CD । भे
निमासेय^(२८) यूचं निगम्यत^(२९) । CD । भे भणामि युगान् भणामि ।
भे कतं^(३०) त्वया कृत । CD ॥

* C एय (फण) तय भाति यशः शंखत्(२१) ॥ † C खलु इति अयथ निश्चयार्थे ॥
‡ C यचपीलण ॥

(१) Δ च ॥ (२) C येस ॥ (३) Δ रुह ॥ (४) A B C D भाद ॥ (५) D सख; C D place सखो जहा c m (६) A B D उलम् ॥ (७) B ओर ॥ (८) B C अवहसित ॥ (९) A B ओहसित, C ओहामित, D उहसित, B adds अपहसित ओहसित ॥ (१०) B om (११) A B C ओसरित, D उसरित ॥ (१२) A अववरक, B अपचक ॥ (१३) B ओचरथो, D उवरउ ॥ (१४) A B खल, D खलो ॥ (१५) B खुज्ज. पीलण ॥ (१६) A ०माने ऽथे ॥ (१७) C D om. काल; B ०मानस्य कालार्थ ॥ (१८) B प्रत्ययस्यार्थ, om स ॥ (१९) A भिद्यमाण, B भिद्यमान, C भेद्य ॥ (२०) A कादि०, B C D कदि० ॥ (२१) B om '०९ B सोदि० ॥ (२२) C D place this sūtra after 1, 25 (2. c after 1, 25^b of their own reckoning, see App C D). (२३) B युगाद शं ॥ (२४) B C D add यपि ॥ (२५) A adds परतो ॥ (२६) B भेर ॥ (२७) C B णि ॥ (२८) So D, A B C ग्रहणत ॥ (२९) A B कृत, C D कथ ॥ (३०) MB सं ॥

॥ 27 ॥ (१) अस्मदो ऽपि(१) ॥ २७ ॥

अस्मच् छब्दस्यापि सर्वासु विभक्तिषु भे भवति(१) ॥ C D । C ।
नेहेन(४) भणामो भे तुम्हे(५) वयं युष्मान् स्नेहेन(६) भणामः । C । इत्यु
अर्थः । D ॥

॥ 27^१—27^१ ॥ C D ॥ २७^१—२७^१ ॥

॥ 28 ॥ इतेर् इयः ॥ २८ ॥

॥ इति शब्दस्य इय आदेशो भवति ॥ इय(७) एवं ॥

॥ 29 ॥ भावे क्षणः(८) ॥ २९ ॥

भावार्थे(९) क्षणः(१०) प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (११) गामक्षणां । नयर्क्षणां(१२) ॥

॥ 29^१ ॥ C D ॥ २९^१ ॥

॥ II ॥ इति (१३) श्रीचडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणै(१४) (१५) स्वरविधानं(१६) द्वितीयं
समाप्तं(१७) ॥ २ ॥

(१) C D place this sūtra after 1, 31 (i e after 1, 31^a of their own reckoning, see App C D) (२) C D add भे सर्व्वोस्तु ॥ (३) A om the whole commentary, instead of which it has स्पष्ट ॥ (४) C D स्नेहेन ॥ (५) B भ नुमे ॥ (६) B om (७) A इय ॥ (८) A B क्षण ॥ (९) A भावेऽर्थ ॥ (१०) A क्षण, B तन ॥ (११) C D pref the Skr translations ग्रामस्य भाव । नगरस्य भाव ॥ (१२) B C D यय, C D add तीर्थकरस्य भाव नित्ययरक्षण ॥ (१३) A om from श्री to लक्षणे (१४) B लक्षण ॥ (१५) B om. स्वर ॥ (१६) A ध्यानसाध ॥ (१७) A om.

॥ III ॥ अथ व्यंजनविधानम् आह ॥ ३ ॥

॥ 1 ॥ हाद्^(१) यवौ^(२) लोप्यौ^(३) ॥ १ ॥

(१) हात् हकारात्^(५) यकारवकारौ परत्र^(६) अवस्थितौ लोप्यौ भवतः ॥
 मुच्यते मुञ्च्यते^(७) । दह्यते^(८) दज्जते^(९) । (१०) विकलः विभ्रलो^(११) ।
 जिक्का^(१२) जिब्बा^(१३) ॥

॥ 2 ॥ (१४) श्वलेभ्यो व्यंजनं^(१५) ॥ २ ॥

श्वलेभ्यः^(१६) परं^(१७) व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ (१८) स्वयं सयं । स्वर्गं^(१९)
 'सगं । ओतयं सोतव्यं^(२०) । कायं कव्यं^(२१) । शल्यं^(२२) सलं । विल्यं^(२३)
 विलं । शम्यं^(२४) सस्यं । श्रुतं सुतं^(२५) । श्लेष्मा सिष्मा^(२६) ॥

॥ 3 ॥ वर्गे^(२७) ॥ ३ ॥

वर्गे^(२८) च परे तल् लोप्यं^(२९) भवति^(३०) ॥ शक्तः^(३१) । सन्तो^(३२) ॥ रक्तं
 रक्तं^(३३) । C D । दुग्धं दुद्धं । वक्षि^(३४) वेम्नि । (३५) षट्कं ष्कं^(३६) ।

(१) A हा ॥ (२) A यौ ॥ (३) D लौप्यौ ॥ (४) A om comment हात् to भवतः ॥
 (५) D om, C हादकाराद् ॥ (६) B परभावे स्थितौ ॥ (७) B om, C D मुञ्च्यते, A
 मुच्यते ॥ (८) A B om (९) A om, B दह्यते, C दज्जते, D दज्जते ॥ (१०) A om
 this example (११) B विकलो ॥ (१२) A om (१३) B जिब्बा ॥ (१४) C D स० ॥
 (१५) B adds लोप्यं ॥ (१६) A एतेभ्यो, B om श्वलो to भवति ॥ (१७) The examples
 are rearranged, their order in A is २०, २१, २२, २३, om all the others, B has
 २०, २१, २८, २९, २३, २४, २५, २६, C D have २८, २९, २४, २०, २१, २२, २३, २६, om
 २५ (see III, 9) (२०) A C सोतव्यं, B सोसध (corrupt for सोतव्यं), D सोतव्यं ॥ (२१)
 A काव्यं, D कव्यं ॥ (२४) C D सस्य ॥ (२५) A सोय, B सुय, C D om this example
 (२६) C सिष्मा ॥ (२७) B om (२८) B वर्ग ॥ (२९) B लुप्यं ॥ (३०) B C D read
 वर्गे परे यत् पूर्व व्यंजन तल् लो० भ० ॥ (३१) A सक्तो, B शक्तो ॥ (३२) B शन्तो, D सन्तो ॥
 (३३) B adds मुक्तमुक्त, C D add मुक्तमुक्त ॥ (३४) B व० ॥ (३५) B षट्कं ॥

षट्पदः कृष्णो^(१) । (२) खङ्गं खगं । षण्मुखः^(३) कृष्णो^(४) । आत्मा^(५) अप्या ।
उत्पलं उप्पलं । सङ्गावं सङ्गावं । *मन्मथः वन्मथो^(६) । प्राप्तं पत्तं । *प्रद्युम्नः
पद्मुन्मो^(७) । †अर्कः अक्को । उक्ता उक्का । भास्करः भक्करो । B C D ।
ब्रह्मा बन्हा^(८) ॥

॥ ४ ॥ श्लो^(९) वर्गाद्यं ॥ ४ ॥

वर्गाद्यं^(१०) श्लो^(९) परे लोप्यं भवति ॥ वृक्षः^(११) वक्खो^(१२) । (१३) क्षमा
खमा । संवत्सरः सवक्खरो । मत्सरः मक्खरो । अप्सराः^(१४) अक्खरा ।
ईप्सितं इक्खित^(१५) ॥

॥ ५ ॥ वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥ ५ ॥

वर्गात् परं अवर्ग्यं व्यंजनं लोप्यं भवति ॥ सौख्यं सुक्खं^(१६) । (१७) शक्रः
सक्को । (१८) क्लीवः कीवो । (१९) विध्वं सितं विद्धं सितं^(२०) । B C ॥

॥ ६ ॥ (२१) शाच् च पंचमो वा ॥ ६ ॥

वर्गपरः शपरश्च च वर्गपंचमो वा लोप्यो भवति ॥ ज्ञानं नाणं^(२२) ।
(२३) यत्नं जत्तं^(२४) । लक्ष्मणः^(२५) लक्खणो । (२६) लक्ष्मौ लक्खी । C D । B C D ।
(२७) कृष्णं कण्हं ॥

* C काम ॥ † C सूर्य ॥

(१) B D कृष्ण, A om this and the following examples, except Nos ३, ५, and ८ ॥ (२) B यट्णो यट्णो ॥ (३) A षट्मुखो ॥ (४) A कृष्णो, B कृष्णो, B C D place ३, ४, ९ ॥ (५) B आत्मा ॥ (६) B मन्मथो, C D वन्मथो ॥ (७) C D पद्मुणो, and add वर्ग वर्गो ॥ (८) A ब्रह्मा बन्हा, B C D वमा ॥ (९) A C D शे, B शे ॥ (१०) B C D add व्यंजन ॥ (११) A वृक्षो ॥ (१२) B वक्खो ॥ (१३) A om the remainder (१४) B अप्सरा, D अप्सरा ॥ (१५) C इक्खित, B D इक्खित ॥ (१६) A सुक्खं, B D सुक्खं ॥ (१७) B क्लीवा कीवा ॥ (१८) D reads विध्वं विद्धं सितं सिञ्च (acc sing of विधु सिञ्च) (१९) B C D सिञ्च ॥ (२०) A C D सा, B च राध ॥ (२१) A B C D णाण (see III, 19). (२२) A om this example. (२३) B यत्न ॥ (२४) A णो, B लक्ष्मण ॥ (२५) B om this example. (२६) A कृष्ण कण्ह, B प्रणं पण्ह, C D प्रण पण्ह ॥

॥ ७ ॥ दो वे^(१) ॥ ० ॥

दकारो ^(१)वकारे परे लोप्यो वा भवति ॥ द्वारं वारं । वेति किं ।
द्वार^(१) ॥

॥ ८ ॥ षाट् टः ॥ ८ ॥

षकारात् परष् टकारो वा^(४) लोप्यो भवति ॥ उत्थायं उक्थोसं^(५) ।
(६)स्यष्टं फुटं^(७) ॥ (८)पुटं । (९)उक्थिद्वं ॥

॥ ९ ॥ ^(१०)रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥ ९ ॥

(११)सर्वस्माद् व्यंजनात् परः पूर्वश्च^(११) च रेफो लोप्यो भवति ॥ तत्र
तक्कं । अर्कः^(१२) अक्को । मूर्खः सुक्खो^(१३) । (१४)न्यग्रोधः निग्गोहो^(१४) । स्वर्ग
सग्गं । शीघ्रः सिग्घो^(१५) । अर्धः अग्घो^(१६) । अर्चनं^(१७) अच्चणं । वज्रं वज्जं^(१८) ।
दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । उग्रः उट्ठो^(१९) । सुवर्णं सुवणं । शत्रुः सत्तू^(२०) । कर्त्तव्यं का-
तव्वं^(२१) । कर्दमं कद्दमं । ऊर्ध्वं^(२२) उट्ठं^(२३) । प्रवरः^(२४) पवरो^(२५) । C D । सर्पः
सप्पो । विभ्रमः विच्चसो । दर्भः दब्भो । आस्रं अंसं^(२६) । धर्मः धम्मो । खर्यः
सुज्जो । व्रतं वतं^(२७) । पर्वतः पव्वतो^(२८) । श्रुतं सुतं^(२९) । इस्सः हस्सो । C D ॥

(१) C D add च ॥ (२) D वकारपरे ॥ (३) B द्वारं; C D add द्वारं दुवार ॥ (४) B C om (५) C D उक्थं (see III, 29 and App C D in III, 3), B उक्थोसं ॥ (६) B स्यष्ट, C D om the remainder (७) B फुटं (? फुड) (८) A om, B places ट, ७ (९) A om, B उक्थिद, repeating उत्थाय before it (१०) B om the sutra, A रेफश्, C D रेफ ॥ (११) B om commentary, up to भवति ॥ (१२) D पूर्वस्य चषच ॥ (१३) A om this example, D places it before तक्कं ॥ (१४) A मूर्खो, B मूर्खो ॥ (१५) A om. the remainder (१६) C D निग्गो ॥ (१७) B शीघ्रो ॥ (१८) D adds चय्यं चत्थो ॥ (१९) B om, up to सुवणं incl (२०) D repeats वज्ज ॥ (२१) C उट्ठो, and C D add दट्ठा डट्ठा ॥ (२२) B मूर्ध् ॥ (२३) B C D कायव्व, and place this example before the preceding one (२४) B ओट्ठ, C D उट्ठ, but C has a marginal correction in pencil ऊर्ध्वं ॥ (२५) B ओट्ठ, C उट्ठ, D उट्ठ ॥ (२६) C प्रवरो, with marginal correction in pencil प्रवर ॥ (२७) B प्रवरो D पवरो ॥ (२८) B अच, C अच, D अच, (see H C II, 56) (२९) B वय, C D वय ॥ (३०) B C D पव्वश ॥ (३१) So B, C D सुच ॥

॥ 10 ॥ (१) असंयोगस्य ॥ ११ ॥

अत ऊर्ध्वं ये व्यंजनादेशास् ते असंयोगस्य भवन्ति ॥ गृहं घरं । स्तम्भः^(१)
खंभो ॥

॥ 11 ॥ प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥ १२ ॥

वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्थाने चयासंख्यं द्वितीयचतुर्थौ आदेशौ^(१)
भवतः ॥ भास्वरः भक्खरो । निश्चयः निच्छयो^(४) । (५) दुष्टं दुड्ड^(६) । (५) स्तम्भः
यंभो^(७) । पृष्ठं^(८) फृष्ठं^(९) । विच्यते^(१०) विज्जते^(११) । (५) दंष्ट्रा दाढा^(१२) ।
मधुरा मधुरा^(१३) । नाथः नाधो^(१४) ॥

॥ 11^a ॥ C D ॥ ११^a ॥

॥ 12 ॥ प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥ १२ ॥

(१५) प्रथमस्य स्थाने तृतीयो भवति ॥ एकं एगं । तीर्थकरः^(१६)
तित्थगरो^(१७) । पिशाची पिसाजी । जटा जडा । कृतं कदं^(१८) । प्रति-
षिद्धं पडिसिद्धं^(१९) । C D । (१०) प्रच्ये वुच्चे ॥

॥ 13 ॥ हो^(२१) खघघभानां ॥ १३ ॥

(२२) खकार घकार धकार भकाराणां^(२३) स्थाने हकारो भवति^(२४) ॥

(१) C D om this sūtra and its commentary (२) A स्तम्भ, B स्तम्भो ॥ (३) B C D om (४) A निदुष्ट, B निदुज्ज, C निदुज्जो, D निदुज्ज ॥ (५) A om this example (६) C D ०ट्टो ॥ (७) D adds खभो (see III, 10, 19) (८) A B C पृष्ठं, D पृष्ठं ॥ (९) A फृष्ठं, B पृष्ठं, C पृष्ठं, D पृष्ठं, B C D add सुष्ठं सुष्ठं (see III, 13) (१०) A विद्वये, B विज्जते, C D विच्यते ॥ (११) A B विज्जते, C D विज्जते, cf H C II, 28, and as to ज् for ऊ, see p 20 footnote 28, p 10, n 7, p 27, n 13, p 30, n. 7 (१२) B दंष्ट्रा, C दाढा, D दंष्ट्रा ॥ (१३) A B C D मधुरा ॥ (१४) A नाधो, B नाधो, C D read आदिनाह आदिनाहो ॥ (१५) A has only the following comment, सट । पिशाची पिसाजी, om all the rest (१६) B तीर्थकर ॥ (१७) B तित्थगरो, D तित्थगरो ॥ (१८) B कर ॥ (१९) B प्रतिषिद्ध ॥ (२०) Conjectural, B वच्चे, C D om this example (२१) C D om हो (see note ६ in III, 11) (२२) C D om. खकार ॥ (२३) B ०भकार इत्येतेषा ॥ (२४) A om comm, up to भवति ॥

(१) मुखं मुहं । (२) मेघः मेहो । (३) मधवः मद्भवो । वृषभः^(४) वसहो ॥

॥ 14 ॥ सस्य^(५) खक्खाः^(६) ॥ १४ ॥

(६) सकारस्य स्थाने खक्खा^(७) भवन्ति ॥ भिक्षा भिक्खा । षण्मुखः
कुसुहो^(८) । पाषाणः पाहाणो । दश दह ॥

॥ 15 ॥ यस्य जः ॥ १५ ॥

(९) यकारस्य स्थाने जकारो भवति ॥ यौवनं जुवणं । सूर्यः सुजो ।
यात्रा जत्ता ॥

॥ 15^a ॥ C D ॥ १५^a ॥

॥ 16 ॥ तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥ १६ ॥

तवर्गस्य स्थाने चटवर्गौ भवतः^(१०) । यथासंख्यं ॥ नित्यं निच्चं^(११) ।
(१) पथ्यं पच्छ^(१२) । विद्या विज्जा । (२) बंध्या वंझा^(१३) । नृत्यं नट्टं^(१४) ।
स्थितः ठितो^(१५) । (१६) दंडः डंडो^(१६) । दग्धः^(१७) दड्डो^(१८) । C D । धान्यं
धण्यं^(१९) । C D ॥

॥ 17 ॥ युष्मदो यस्य^(२०) तः ॥ १७ ॥

युष्मत्संबन्धिना यकारस्य^(२१) तकारो भवति^(२२) ॥ तुम्हेहि^(२३) ॥

॥ 17^a ॥ C D ॥ १७^a ॥

(१) C D om this example (see p 26, note ९ in m, 11). (२) A om this example (३) A B वृषभो ॥ (४) B च खक्खा ॥ (५) A ०च्छ ॥ (६) A has only सस्य । पाषाणो पाहाणो । दश दह, om the rest (७) B पक्खा ॥ (८) B D कुसुहो ॥ (९) A only सस्य, om the whole commentary (१०) A only सस्य, om up to भवत ॥ (११) C D णिच्च ॥ (१२) B पक्खा with Skr पथा ॥ (१३) B D वंझा, C originally वंज्जा, with marginal correction ०ज्झा ॥ (१४) C D णट्ट ॥ (१५) A ठिच्च, B C D ठिच्चो ॥ (१६) A om the remainder. (१७) B दड्डो, D दड्डो । (१८) B C दग्धो ॥ (१९) B ०ट्टो, C ०ट्टो, D ०ट्टो ॥ (२०) B धान्य, D धाण्य ॥ (२१) B म ॥ (२२) A om. up to भवति ॥ (२३) A तुम्हेहि, B तुम्हेहि, C D add कय । युष्माभि. कर्तं ॥

॥ 18 ॥ रणधाराणां^(१) छः ॥ १८ ॥

(१)रेफशकारषकाराणां^(१) स्थाने (४)सकारो भवति ॥ शिरं^(५) सीसं ।
(६)शशी ससी^(७) । आमिषं आमिस^(७) ॥

॥ 19 ॥ हजधानां रनखाः^(८) ॥ १९ ॥

(१)हजधानां स्थाने रनखाः^(८) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं^(९) ॥ गृहं घरं ।
(७)ज्ञानं नानं^(१०) । C D । (७)स्त्रंभः^(११) खभो ॥

॥ 20 ॥ गरक्षणां घणझाः^(१२) ॥ २० ॥

(१२)गरक्षणां स्थाने घणझा^(१४) भवन्ति । यथासंख्यं ॥ (७)गृहं घरं ।
करवीरः^(१५) कणवीरो^(१५) । C D । (७)वाह्यः वज्झो^(१६) । C D ॥

॥ 21 ॥ मडक्षणां^(१७) वलभाः^(१८) ॥ २१ ॥

(१८)मडक्षणां स्थाने^(१७) यथाक्रमं वलभा भवन्ति^(१९) ॥ मन्मथः^(१९)
वन्मथो^(१९) । षोडश^(२०) सोलस^(२५) । (७)जिह्वा जिह्वा । C D ॥

॥ 22 ॥ (१६)यवयोर् व्यत्यासः ॥ २२ ॥

(१७)यकारवकारयोर् व्यत्यासो^(१८) भवति^(१९) ॥ पर्यंकः पल्लंको^(२०) ।

(१) B ०ना ॥ (२) A only एषा ॥ (३) B ०सकारष० ॥ (४) A सस स्यात् ॥ (५) B शिरः ॥ (६) B शसी ॥ (७) A om this example (८) C D रण० ॥ (९) B C D om this clause (१०) B जान, C D णाण ॥ (११) D स्त्रंभः (Prākrit यभो, see iii, 11) (१२) A घनसाः, B ०सा, D घण० ॥ (१३) A only यथासंख्य भवति स्पष्ट ॥ (१४) B घणसा, D घणभा ॥ (१५) A ०वीर ॥ (१६) B वज्झो ॥ (१७) A B C D ०णा, but C with marginal correction ०ना ॥ (१८) B व० ॥ (१९) D ०ह्वाणा, but B C ०ह्वाना ॥ (२०) B D om (२१) A only स्पष्ट, om up to भवति ॥ (२२) A B ०यो ॥ (२३) A C वन्मथो, B मन्मथो, D वन्मथो ॥ (२४) B D ०श, A B ड for ड ॥ (२५) B सोलसः ॥ (२६) So A, B om sūtra, C D read यवयोर् ॥ (२७) So A, B यवयोर्, but C D यवयोर्, see below note २८ (२८) A व्यत्यास ॥ (२९) A स्यात्, in C D, here follows the example पाप पाव (see iii, 12 in App C D), after which comes a new sūtra रलथोर् व्यत्यास, to which are assigned पर्यंक etc as examples (see App C D) (३०) A B ०क, C D add पर्याण पल्लण ॥

(१) वैदूर्यः^(१) वेदुलियो^(१) । त्रयोदश तेरह । ^(१)वृत्तः वक्त्रो^(४) । C D ॥

॥ 23 ॥ शहयोर्^(५) लोपे नणमानान् अघो^(६) होऽपदादौ^(७) स्थितानां ॥ २३ ॥

नणमानां संबन्धिनौ यौ शह्यौ^(८) तयोर् लोपे हकारागमो भवति ।

(९) अघो^(१०)ऽपदादावस्थितानां ॥ प्रश्नः पन्धो^(११) । तप्णा तप्हा^(१२) ।

यस्मात् जम्हा^(१३) । B C D । C D । ^(१४)गृह्णाति गिण्हति^(१५) । वङ्गिः

वन्ह्यौ^(१६) । जिह्वाः जिह्वो^(१७) । B । ^(१८)अपदादाव् इति किं । श्मशानं^(१९)

ममानं ॥

॥ 24 ॥ लोपे द्वित्वं ॥ २४ ॥

संयोगाचरस्य लोपेऽवशेषस्य^(२०) द्वित्वं भवति^(२१) ॥ ^(२२)दुर्गा दुग्गा ।

B C D । व्याघ्रः वग्घो ॥

॥ 25 ॥ ^(२३)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥ २५ ॥

^(२४)क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि द्वित्वं भवति ॥ न ज्ञाचते न^(२५) नज्जते^(२६) ।

^(२७)वाध्यते वाहिज्जते^(२८) ॥

(१) A om this example (२) C D वैदूर्यः ॥ (३) B वेदुलियो, C वेवलिथो, D वेवलिउ ॥ (४) D वक्त्रो ॥ (५) So B, A C D से ॥ (६) A om हो ॥ (७) Conjectural, the MSS reading is corrupt, B throws sūtra and commentary into one and reads श० लो० नण० अघो पदावस्थाना हो भवति, A has ऽपदावस्थानाना, C originally पदावस्थानाना, corrected in margin to ऽपदादावस्थानाना, D पदादावस्थानाना ॥ (८) A C D सकाररुकारौ ॥ (९) B om this clause (१०) Conjectural, A D read ऽपदादावस्थानाना, C अपदावस्थानाना ॥ (११) C D पपन्धो ॥ (१२) B तिप्णा, A adds कन्ध. कन्धो (see App B C D) (१३) A D जम्हा ॥ (१४) A om the remainder, up to अपदादाव् ॥ (१५) B गृह्णति, C D गिण्हद् ॥ (१६) C D वण्ह्यौ, B places this example after निह्वविषा (see App B) (१७) C D place the examples thus २१, २६, २५, २९, २३, २० (१८) So C, A अपदादति, B अपदादति०, D अपदादति ॥ (१९) B C D श्मशान ॥ (२०) D विशेषस्य, B adds च after it (२१) A स्यात् ॥ (२२) C D दुर्ग दुग्गा ॥ (२३) A om the sūtra (२४) B क्वचिद् अलोपे ॥ (२५) C D न ॥ (२६) A B नज्जद्, C D नज्जर, C D add नैल तैल ॥ (२७) B नज्जद्, C D नज्जर ॥

॥ 26 ॥ तस्मिन् द्वित्वे चतुर्थयोः^(१) प्रथमतृतीयौ ॥ २६ ॥

तस्मिन् द्वित्वे वर्त्तमानयोर् द्वित्वचतुर्थयोः स्थाने^(२) प्रथमतृतीयौ भवतः ॥ सौख्यं सुखं^(३) । ^(४)अर्घः अर्घो । पथ्यं पच्छं^(५) । साध्यः^(६) सज्जो^(७) । षष्ठः कट्टो^(८) । वृद्धः वुद्धो^(९) । पार्थः पथ्यो^(१०) । वर्धमानः वद्धमानो^(११) । पुष्पं पुष्पां । जिह्वा जिह्वा^(१२) ॥

॥ 27 ॥ स एवान्येषां ॥ २७ ॥

अन्येषां ^(१३)सुक्तासुक्तविशेषाणां द्वित्वे स एव भवति ॥ ^(१४)अर्कः अक्को । सत्यं सच्चं^(१५) । B C D ॥

॥ 28 ॥ न पदादौ^(१६) ॥ २८ ॥

पदादौ^(१६) द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ क्रोधः कोद्धो^(१७) । ^(१८)क्षुद्रः खुद्धो^(१८) । ^(१९)पदादाव् इति किं । ^(२०)भद्रः भद्धो^(२१) ॥

॥ 29 ॥ कचिद् अन्यत्रापि ॥ २९ ॥

कचिद् पदमध्येऽवसाने^(२२) च लोपे कृते द्वित्वं न भवति ॥ काश्यपः^(२३) कामवो । ^(२४)वैश्रवणः वेसवणो^(२४) । स्पष्टं^(२५) फुटं^(२६) । ^(२७)कर्त्तव्यं

(१) A ०चतुर्थयोः, B ०चतुर्थौ ॥ (२) So B, B संयोगात्, C D संयोगाच्चौ ॥ (३) A सौख्य (for सोख् ? but see iii, 5) (४) A om the remainder (५) B पथ्य, so also C now, but originally C seems to have had पच्छ ॥ (६) D साध्या ॥ (७) D सज्जा, B सम्मो ॥ (८) B कट्टो, D सट्टो ॥ (९) B ०द्धो, C ०द्धो, D ०द्धो ॥ (१०) D पच्छो ॥ (११) B वद्धमाणो, C वद्धमाणो, D वद्धमाणो (for वद्ध०), but comp App A, ii, 25 (as to ०नो for ०णो), and App C D, iii, 16 (१२) B जिह्वा ॥ (१३) So A, B originally सुक्ताविशेषाणां, but corrected by later hand into उक्तविशेषाणां, the latter is also the reading of C D (see App B C D) (१४) B अर्को अक्को ॥ (१५) B सच्च ॥ (१६) C पादादौ ॥ (१७) B adds क्रुद्ध क्रुद्धो ॥ (१८) A om this example. (१९) B खुद्धो, D खुद्धो ॥ (२०) B C पादादाव् ॥ (२१) A भद्रा, D भद्र ॥ (२२) A भद्रा, B भद्धो ॥ (२३) So C, A अवसाने, B D अवसाने ॥ (२४) A काश्यप ॥ (२५) B वैश्रवणो ॥ (२६) D स्पष्ट ॥ (२७) A फुट, D पड ॥

कातव्वं^(१) । शीर्षं^(२) सीसो^(३) । दीर्घः दीहो । ^(४)उत्कष्टं उत्कोमं^(५) ॥

॥ 30 ॥ संयोगस्थेष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥ ३० ॥

द्वयोर् ^(६)व्यंजनयोर् मध्ये दृष्टस्वरागमो भवति ॥ अग्निः अगणी^(७) ।
विश्लेषः विसलेसो^(८) । ^(९)स्रजः पलकखो । ^(१०)रत्नं रतणं^(१०) । वर्षं वरिसं^(११) ।
C D । सूर्यः सूरियो^(१२) । ^(१३)सर्वपः सरिसपो^(१४) । ^(१५)वैदूर्यः^(१५)
वेदुलियो^(१६) । ^(१७)स्त्रा खिमा^(१७) । ^(१८)स्रज्जं सुज्जमं^(१८) । ^(१९)पद्मं
पद्मं^(१९) । C D ॥

॥ 31 ॥ यवयोर्^(२०) दृढतौ ॥ ३१ ॥

यवयोः^(२१) स्थाने ^(२२)द्वकारोकारौ भवतः ॥ त्रयोदश तेरह^(२३) ।
C D । भवति हेति^(२४) ॥

॥ 32 ॥ ^(२५)संख्यायास् ^(२६)तिशयोर् लोपः ॥ ३२ ॥

^(२७)संख्यायाः ^(२८)संवधितिशयोर् लोपो भवति^(२९) ॥ ^(३०)विंशतिः बीसा ।
पंचाशत् पन्ना^(३१) ॥

॥ 33 ॥ तस्य च ॥ ३३ ॥

(१) B C D कायव्व, C adds कादव्व ॥ (२) A शीर्षो, B शीर्षं, C D शीर्षं ॥
(३) A सीसो, B सीस ॥ (४) A om this example (५) B उत्कौस, C D उत्कस
(see III 8) (६) B repeats द्वयोर् after यं ॥ (७) B अग्नि ॥ (८) A विश्लेष ॥
(९) A om this example, B C D place it after सूरियो ॥ (१०) B C D रत्न ॥
(११) A वरिस ॥ (१२) A D सूरिज, B C सूरियो ॥ (१३) B om this example,
probably by oversight, as it is the only instance of B omitting what occurs
in A C D together (१४) A B C D सरिसपो, C D add वल्ल वदर ॥ (१५) C D
वैदूर्य ॥ (१६) A वैदुलिज, B वेदुलियो, C वेदलियो, D वेदलिज, C D add हण्य
कसिणं ॥ (१७) So A, C D खमा ॥ (१८) So C D, B सुज्जं ॥ (१९) B पद्म, C D
पद्मं ॥ (२०) A यवयोर् ॥ (२१) B C D यकारवकारयोः ॥ (२२) B C D दृढतौ ॥
(२३) A तेरह; B om by mistake, as it gives only त्रयो, omitting दश and तेरह ॥
(२४) A B C होह, D होयाह (sic), A B place the examples २४, २३, but C D २३,
२४ ॥ (२५) D repeats संख्या ॥ (२६) B त्रिं ॥ (२७) D om (२८) C संवधिनोः तिं ॥
(२९) A स्यात् ॥ (३०) A om. all examples, probably by mistake. (३१) C D पन्ना ॥

(१)सख्यासवधिनस् तकारस्य(२) च(३) लोपो(४) भवति ॥ पंचपंचाशत्(५)
(६)पणपणस ॥

॥ 34 ॥ (७)काद्वतीययोः खरे ॥ ३४ ॥

ककारस्य वर्गद्वतीयस्य च खरे(८) परे लोपो भवति ॥ (९)कोकिलः(१०)
कोइलो(११) । (१२)भौगिकः भोइओ । (१३)राजी राई । (१४)प्रतिकूलः
पइकूलो(१५) । नदी नई(१६) । B I C D ॥

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णे(१७) ॥ ३५ ॥

(१८)ककारवर्गद्वतीययोर् अवर्णे परे चत्वं भवति ॥ C D । काकाः
काया । नागाः नाचा(१९) । B C D ॥

॥ 36 ॥ शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥ ३६ ॥

व्यवस्था वर्णावस्थान(२०) शिष्टप्रयोगात् ज्ञातव्या(२१) ॥ अर्कः अक्को ।
(२२)सूर्यः सूरियो(२३) । भिक्षा भिक्षा । लक्ष्मी लक्ष्मी(२४) । C D ॥

॥ 37 ॥ न लोपो ऽपभ्रंशे(२५) ऽधो(२६) रेफस्य ॥ ३७ ॥

(१) A om (२) B C D तस्य ॥ (३) B C D om (४) A लोप, om भवति ॥
(५) B पचाशत्, and prefixes विशति बीसा, repeating the latter by mistake from
the previous sūtra (६) A पणपणस, B D पणपणा, C पणपणा ॥ (७) C D have an
altogether different sūtra and commentary, see App C D (८) Inserted, A B
om (९) This example also occurs in D (see App C D) (१०) A कोकिला ॥
(११) A कोइला ॥ (१२) A om this example (१३) B वनराजी वणरार्द ॥ (१४) A
adds नूपुर नेउर । कूप कूओ (MS कूप कूओ), B adds many more examples, see
App B (१५) C अवर्ण, D वर्ण, A adds ककारद्वतीययो ॥ (१६) So B, A corrupt
अवर्णपरयोरेफयोऽपरयोर्यत्वं स्यात् (अवर्णे परे एतयोर् यत्वं स्यात्?), but C D read
differently, see App C D (१७) C D णया ॥ (१८) A B ०स्थाना ॥ (१९) So A,
B C D ०व्य ॥ (२०) A om the remainder (२१) B C D सूरियो (२२) Here C D
terminate this chapter, see App C D. (२३) D ०भवे ॥ (२४) B om ऽधो रेफस्य ॥

(१)अपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य लोपो न भवति ॥ *वरचु(१) । ग्रामो(२) । (३)वाघ्नो घसि(४) जादि ॥

॥ 38 ॥ पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर्(५) लनौ(६) ॥ ३८ ॥

पैशाचिक्यां रेफस्य लकारो भवति । एकारस्य नकारः ॥ †अले(७) अले (८)दुष्टलक्षणा पनमत(१०) (११)पनयिद्धितासा ॥

॥ 39 ॥ भागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ(१२) ॥ ३९ ॥

भागधिकायां रेफमकारयोर् लशौ(१३) अवतः ॥ (१४)चंदकलनिकलं ह्वति । शेषे(१५) । हंशे(१६) । पशुत्ते(१७) ॥ C D ॥

॥ 39 ॥ C D ३९ ॥

॥ (१८)३१ ॥ ३९ ॥ ३९ ॥ सूत्राण्यु अत्र ९९ ॥

॥ III ॥ इति (१९)श्रीचंडकृतप्राकृतलक्षणो (२०)व्यंजनविधानं (२१)तृतीयं

(२२)समाप्तं ॥ ३ ॥

॥ (२३)इति प्राकृतलक्षणं संपूर्णं(२४) ॥

* Ed वरच । ग्राम । वाघ्न घसित्वा याति ॥ A and C om the interpunctuation between व० and ग्र०, B has it, A B C have the interpunctuation between वा० and घसि०, D om it throughout † Ed अरे अरे दुष्टराक्षसा प्रणमत प्रणयिस्थितासा ॥

(१) B om (२) B वरच, D वरचु ॥ (३) A गाड, B घाड, C D यत्रो ॥ (४) A om this example, B वाघ्न. D वाघ्नो, C D prefix the Ski वाघ्न ॥ (५) C D घसि ॥ (६) B om (७) B लोनौ ॥ (८) D अरे ॥ (९) A दुष्टलक्षणा, B दुष्टल । लक्षा, C दुष्टलक्षणा, D दुष्टलक्षणा ॥ (१०) So C, A पनमत, B पननमत, D पननत्ते ॥ (११) A इद्धितासा om पन, B पुनइद्धितासा, C पनइ । दिधासा, D पनइ द्दिधासा; B explains it in the margin as Ski पूर्णइद्धिकाया (sic), but the word is not distinctly legible. (१२) B लशौ ॥ (१३) B लशौ ॥ (१४) A वन्दकलनि कलवति, B वन्द नौ कलनि ॥ कलवति, B in the margin explains कलनि by the Ski करोति, C D च० ह्वदि ॥ (१५) A शेषे, B लोसे, C D prefix the Skr शेष ॥ (१६) A B ह्वते, D om, C D prefix the Skr चस ॥ (१७) A पशुत्, B पशुते, C D om (१८) B C D om this remark (१९) A कते, B om कत ॥ (२०) C D read भाषांतरविधानं चतुर्थं, making thus the termination of the fourth chapter, their third chapter terminates with sūtra 36, see App C D (२१) C चतुर्थं, D तुर्यं ॥ (२२) A om (२३) A B D om this remark (२४) Here follow various dates in the MSS, A माघ कृष्ण १, B माघ कृष्ण ८ अश्वी सवत् १८३१, D सवत् १८३१ का, C gives no date.

EXPLANATION

The MSS C and D contain a large number of Sūtras and Explanatory Remarks, in addition to the text given in the preceding pages. To a very slight extent this is also the case with the MSS A and B. Some of this additional matter is found only in one MS, some other in more than one. This is indicated by the heading letters of the Appendices, thus Appendix C D gives what is common to the MSS C and D. The places in the text to which these additions belong, are indicated by the insertion of corresponding letters, thus, on p 21, the letter A in the commentary to Sūtra II, 25 refers to an additional remark in MS A, given in Appendix A on p 34, again, on p 5, the letters C D in Sūtra I, 6^a refer to an additional Sūtra in the MSS C and D, given in Appendix C D, on p 40. The words printed in red type in the Appendices refer to the words in the text, *after* which the additional remark is to be inserted.

APPENDIX A.

TO SUTRA II, 25. ON PAGE 21.

साहि० ॥ साहिज्जमान^(१) साहिव्यंत^(२) ॥

(१) MS साहिसान ॥ (२) MS साहिव्यंत^(२), in A the two letters य and प are often indistinguishable

APPENDIX B.

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 26

जिह्वो ॥ निह्वितं निह्वियं^(१) । निह्विका निह्विया^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31 ON PAGE 32

बोद्धो ॥ (१) काको काई^(४) । (२) शकुनः सउणो^(५) । (३) प्रतिकूलः पइ-
 जलो^(६) । काकेन काएण^(७) । काकः काओ । भौगिकः भोइओ ।
 त्यागिनां^(८) चाईणं^(९) । प्रगुणः पउणो । (१०) अवगूढः अवजडो ।
 त्यागेन चाएण । त्यागः चाओ । सुचिरं सुदरं । शुचिः सुई ।
 (११) प्रचुरेण पउरेण । पिशाचेन पिशाएण । पिशाचः पिशाओ ।
 वनराजिफलं वणराइफलं^(१२) । (१३) वनराजी वणराई । (१४) प्रजुष्टं
 पउष्टं । (१५) गजेन गएण । गजः गओ^(१६) । (१७) पतिना पइणा ।
 गोमती गोमई । (१८) जतुना जउणा । (१९) वातुलः वाउलो ।
 वातेन वाएण । वातः वाओ^(२०) । मदिरः मइरो । (२१) नदी नई ।
 पादुका पाउआ । मदेन मएण । मदः मओ । कूपिका कूइआ ।
 कपीनां कईणं । (२२) नूपुरं नेउरं । रिपूणां रिजणं । कूपेन कूएण ।
 कूपः कूओ^(२३) कूवो^(२४) । कविना कइणा । कापुरुषं कावुरिसं^(२५) ।
 काउरिसं^(२६) । रवेण रएण । देवः देओ^(२७) । मयि मइ^(२८) । प्रचुत्तं
 पउत्तं । मयूरः मउरो । विप्रयोगः विप्यओओ^(२९) ॥

(१) MS निह्वित्ति ॥ (२) MS निह्विय ॥ (३) The MS places this example after पउणो ॥ (४) This example also occurs in D (see App C D) (५) MS शकुणः सउणो ॥ (६) MS पइजलो ॥ (७) MS काकेण ॥ (८) MS त्यागिना ॥ (९) MS चाइणो ॥ (१०) MS अवगूढ अवजडो ॥ (११) Conjectural, MS सवलेन सउलेण ॥ (१२) MS वराजि ॥ (१३) This example also occurs in A, omitting however वन ॥ (१४) MS प्रजुष्टं प्रउष्टं, and places it after गओ ॥ (१५) MS गयेन गयेणो ॥ (१६) MS गज ॥ (१७) MS prefixes the example सित सिधे, which is repugnant to the following sūtra (iii, 35) (१८) MS जतुना जउणा ॥ (१९) MS वातुल वाउलो ॥ (२०) MS वाज ॥ (२१) This example also occurs in A (२२) MS कूवो कूवू ॥ (२३) MS places २४, २२ (२४) MS दक ॥ (२५) MS मई ॥ (२६) MS विप्रयोग ॥

APPENDIX C

SUTRA I, 11^a ON PAGE 6॥ 11^a ॥ क्षीवे जसृशसोर् इं^(१) ॥ ११^७ ॥

क्षीवे वर्त्तमानान् नाम्नः परयोः जसृशसोः इं इत्य् आदेशो भवति ॥

*कमलदं^(२) मल्लवि अलिउलदं करिगंडादं महंति ।†असुलदम् एत्य ए जाहं ‡भलि ते एवि दूर^(३) गणंति ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22

भवति ॥ C D ॥ मे भणामो वयं भणामः । मे भण मां भण । मे भण
अस्मान् भण ॥भणामः ॥ मे कयं मया कृतं । मे कयं अस्माभिः कृतं । मे णिक्किटो मत्
निःकटः । मे तं णिक्किटो अस्मात् त्वं^(४) निःकटः । मे देसो मम देशः ।
मे देसो अस्माकं देशः । मे णिहिदं मयि निहितं । मे णिहिदं
अस्मासु निहितं ॥

* C कमलानि मुक्ता अलिकुलानि करिगडानि कांचति । असुलमम् अत्र न येषा भस्ते ते
नापि दूर गणयन्ति ॥ † C असुलद । असुलम दुर्लभ वा । कदा ग्रहो भवति ॥ ‡ C भलि ।
चटात्कारेण ॥

(१) See H C IV, 353 T V III, 4 25 (२) The MS. has the mark of
interpunctuation (।) after each word of the first line, thus कमलदं । म० ॥
(३) The MS. has विदू रगणति ॥ (४) MS. om.

APPENDIX D.

SUTRA II, 1^a ON PAGE 13॥ 1^a ॥ संकृतवत् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥ १^a ॥

प्राच्यते पदयोर् चत् संधिकार्यं तत् संकृतोक्तवद् भवति ॥

SUTRAS II, 1^b 1^c ON PAGE 14॥ 1^b ॥ स्वरस्योद्धृते १^a ॥ १^c ॥

व्यंजनसंपृक्त. स्वरौ यो^(१) व्यंजने लुप्ते ऽवशिष्यते स उद्धृत इहोच्यते ।
स्वरस्योद्धृते स्वरे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ गगनं गच्छणं । गंधकुटी गंधउडी ।

॥ 1^c ॥ न युवर्णस्यास्त्रे ॥ १^c ॥

इवर्णस्य उवर्णस्य चास्त्रे वर्णे परे संधिर् न भवति ॥ न वैरिवर्गे^(२) अपि
अवकाशः । ए ^(३)वैरिवर्गे वि अवयासे ॥

TO SUTRA II, 14 ON PAGE 18

कर्त्तृचित्^(४) ॥ ऐदौतौ च केषांचिन् मते भवत एव ॥ कैतव कैत्रवं । सौदय्यं
सौअरित्रं । कौरवाः कौलवा कौरवा ॥ उञ्जौ^(५) अपि स्ववर्गसंयुक्तौ^(६)
भवत एव ॥ अहंकारः हङ्कारो^(७) । अंजितं^(८) अञ्जित्रं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27 ON PAGE 22.

अर्थः ॥ एवं सर्वासु विभक्तिषु ॥

(१) D ०ते ॥ (२) D om (३) D वैरिवर्गे ॥ (४) D ०वर्गे ॥ (५) See App. C D.
(६) D उञ्जौ and ०क्तौ ॥ (७) D उङ्कारो ॥ (८) D अंजितं च अंजितं ॥

APPENDIX B C

TO SUTRA III, 5 ON PAGE 24

क्षितं ॥ ऊर्द्धं उड्ड ॥ प्राप्तं पत्तं ॥

APPENDIX C D

TO SUTRA I, 1 ON PAGE 2

देशी० प्राकृतम् अनेकधा भवति । तद् यथा* ।

* C adds the following declension of जष=यज्ञ, सत्ता=मात्र and णिच=नित्य ;
जषो । जषा ॥ हे जषो । हे जषा ॥ जष । जषा or जषे ॥ जषेण or जषेण । जषेहि or जषेहि
or जषेहिं ॥ जषस्स । जषाण or जषाह ॥ जषाथो ०1 जषाउ or जषाहि or जषाहितो or
जषा । जषेहितो ॥ जषस्स । जषाण or जषाह ॥ जषे or जषन्नि । जषेसु or जषेसु ॥ एव
देवादय ॥

सत्ता । सत्ताथो or सत्ताउ or सत्ता ॥ हे सत्ता । हे सत्ताथो or हे सत्ताउ or हे सत्ता ॥
सत्त । सत्ताथो ०1 सत्ताउ or सत्ता ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहि or सत्ताहि ०1 सत्ताहि ॥ सत्ताए । सत्तार्ण
or सत्ताह ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताहितो ॥ सत्ताए । सत्ताण ०1 सत्ताह ॥ सत्ताए । सत्तासु ०1 सत्तासु ॥

णिच । णिचाणि ॥ णिच । णिचाणि ॥ शेष यज्ञवत् ॥

* झल्लरिपउरे^(१) गामे इल्लपुलिंदाण सुम्भए सद्दो ।

तह सज्जिज्जइ चिच्चौ सुहेण जह बोलेण तुंगी ॥ १ ॥

सत्तवीसं^(२) (३) जोयणयरपसरो^(४) जाव अज्जवि ण होइ ।

(५) पडिहत्थविबगहवद्दवयणे ॥ ता वज्ज भत्तारं ॥ २ ॥

महाराप्रदेशे । भातु । भेटु ॥ अंध्रदेशे । वंटकसु । कूडु ॥ कर्णाटदेशे ।
कूळु ॥ द्राविडदेशे । चोरु ॥ इत्यादि ॥

TO SUTRA I, 3 ON PAGES 3, 4

हुल्लानि ॥ चत्वारि चत्तारि । चत्वारः चत्तारो । चतुरः चतुरो^(५) ।
तिष्ठति^(६) चिद्धंति पय्य^(७) पेच्छ वा^(८) । यूयं तुम्हे^(९) । वयं अम्हे^(९) ॥

भ्यसु ॥ ग्रामेभ्यः^(९) गामाहिंता । गुरुभ्यः^(९) गुरुहिंता^(१०) । धेनुहिंता ।
एईहिंता । दोहिंता वेहिंता^(११) । (१२) तोहिंता ॥

अम्हेसु ॥ ** दोसुं दोसु । विसेसुं^(१२) वेसु । तीसुं तीसुम् ॥

TO SUTRA I, 5 ON PAGE 4

सरिताह ॥ एईणं एईहं । गुरूणं गुरूहं । बुद्धीणं^(१४) बुद्धीह । मळ्ळणं^(१५) मळ्ळहं ।

* C इल्लपुलिंदाण व्याघ्राणा सद्दो शब्द झल्लरिपउरे षजाप्रचुरे गामे ग्रामे सुम्भए श्रूयते ।
तह तथा चिच्चौ अग्नि सज्जिज्जइ सज्जाते जह यथा तुंगी रात्रि सुहेण सुखेन बोलेण यतिक्रा-
सति ॥ † C तुंगी इति । श्यासा तुंगी तसा तमी इति नामनिधानकोषान्तरे ॥ ‡ C सत्तवीस
जोयणयरपसरो सप्तविंशतिथोजनकरप्रसर जाव यावत् अज्जवि अद्यापि ण न होइ भनति ।
पडिहत्थविबगहवद्दवयणे हे प्रतिहस्तविषयप्रतिपत्तिवदने ता तावत् वज्ज व्रज भत्तार भत्तार ॥
§ C सत्तवीसजोयण शब्दने चन्द्र । तस्य कराणा प्रसर चक्रकरप्रसर ॥ ॥ C प्रतिहस्त
तिस्क्रान्त विषय रुडल यस्य स प्रतिहस्तविषय । प्रतिहस्तविषयो प्रक्षपतिश् चक्र इति बोधन ॥
¶ C ग्रामेभ्य । गुरुभ्य । धेनुभ्य । द्वाभ्या । त्रिभ्य ॥ ** C दोसु । द्वि अग्रे सुप्
(see 11, 12) । वर्गाद् अग्यं (11, 5 द्वि-सुप्) । खरोऽण्यो (11, 4 दोसुप्) । अदागमे
(11, 11 दोसु) । अनुसारो (11, 15 दोसु) ॥ †† C पेच्छ । द्वि-अग्रे सुप् (see 11, 12) ।
वर्गे (11, 3 विसुप्, sic) । खरो (11, 4 वेसुप्) । अदागमे (11, 11 वेसु) । अनुसारो
(11, 15 वेसु) ॥ ‡‡ C इथे ॥ विपु ॥

(१) D झल्लरिपउरे ॥ (२) D सत्तवीस c m (३) D जोयण ॥ (४) D होइ, D विव ॥ (५) D चतुरो ॥ (६) D तिष्ठति, C om (७) C om (८) D तुम्हे and अम्हे ॥ (९) C om (१०) D गुरुहिंता ॥ (११) D वे ॥ (१२) D तोहिंता ॥ (१३) C वे ॥ (१४) D बु ॥ (१५) D मळ्ळण ॥

तुम्हाणं ॥ अम्हाणं अम्हाहं* । (१) एमो अरहंताणं । एमो सिद्धाणं । (२) एमो
आइरियाणं । (३) एमो उवज्झायाणं ॥ । † एमो लोए सव्वसङ्गणं ॥

TO SUTRA I, 6 ON PAGE 5

भवति ॥ दोहं वेहं^(४) । तिहं । चउहं ॥

SUTRA I, 6^a ON PAGE 5

॥ 6^a ॥ टा एः ॥ ६^a ॥

लिंगात् परष् टा इत्यस्य^(५) ए आदेशो भवति ॥ देवेण । गुरुणा ।
मज्झणा । दहिणा । सिरेण । इत्यादि^(६) ॥ ,

TO SUTRA I, 7 ON PAGE 5

गासेहिं ॥ ** गुरुहिं^(७) । एइहि । तुम्हेहिं^(८) । अन्हेहिं । †† दोहिं^(९) वेहिं ।
तीहिं ॥

* C नदीना । गुरुणा । वुद्धीना । मधूना । अस्माक ॥ † C एमो अरहताण नमोऽर्हता ।
नमोऽर्हत् (१०) चतुर्थीवङ्गवचनस अये भ्यप् । तवर्गस्य० (III, 16 एम अर्हत्) । एदोद्र० (II, 10 एमयो अर्हत्) । खरोणा० (II, 1 एमो अर्हत्) । वर्षविश्लेष क्त्वा र्ह इत्य् अस्य र्ह इति
स्थित । सयोगस्ये० (III, 30 एमो अरहत्) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 एमो अरहत्) । अदा-
गमो० (II, 11 एमो अरहत्) । यष्टीवच्० (II, 13) । सागमस्या० (II, 5 एमो अरहत्तण) ।
खरो० (II, 4 एमो अरहताण) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 एमो अरहताणं) ॥ † C सिद्धाण ।
सिद्धेय ॥ ‡ C आइरियाण आचार्येभ्य । आचार्य । कगच्च० (III, 34 आचार्य) । खरो०
(II, 4) इत्यनेन आ स्थाने इ भवति (अदर्थ) । वर्षविश्लेष क्त्वा सयोगस्ये० (III, 30
आइरिय) । खरो० (II, 4 आइरिया) । आम् अस्य ण. (I, 5 आइरियाण) । अनुखारो० (II,
15 आइरियाण) ॥ ‖ C उवज्झायाण उपाध्यायेभ्य । उपाध्याय । प्रथमम्० (III, 12
उवाध्याय) । वर्गाद् (III, 5 उवाध्याय) । तवर्गस्य० (III, 16 उवाध्याय) । लोपे० (III, 24)
तस्मिन्० (III, 26 उवाध्याय) । झस्त्व० (II, 3 उवज्झाया) । खरो० (II, 4 उवज्झाया) ।
आमो ण (I, 5 उवज्झायाण) । अनुखारो० (II, 15 उवज्झायाण) । उवज्झायाण सिद्ध ॥
¶ C नमो लोके सर्वसाधुभ्य ॥ ** C गुरुभि । नदीभि । युष्माभि । अस्माभि । दाभ्या ।
चिभि ॥ †† C दोहिं । द्वि अग्रे भ्या । द्विवयणे वङ्गवयण (sic) ज्ञेय (II, 12 द्वि-भिस्) ।
वर्गाद् (III, 5 दिभिस्) । खरो० (II, 4 दोभिस्) । द्वि भिस् (I, 7 दोहिं) ॥

(१) C adds एमो अरहताण । एमो अरहताण ॥ (२) C adds एमो आइरियाण ॥
(३) C adds एमो उवज्झायाण ॥ (४) C वे० ॥ (५) D reads only णो for इत्य० ए
आद्० ॥ (६) D om (७) D गुरुहिं ॥ (८) D तुम्हेहिं and अन्हेहिं ॥ (९) C adds दोहिं
दोहिं । वेहिं वेहिं । तीहिं तीहिं ॥ (१०) C चतुर्थीवङ्गवचनम् ॥

SŪTRA I, 10^a ON PAGE 6

॥ 10^a ॥ द्विचिश्चद्वाभ्यां जस्यस्योर् णिः ॥ १०^a ॥

दुषि विषि दुवे* दो वे । तिषि^(१) । (२) एवं शसोऽपि ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 13 ON PAGE 7

सोहा ॥ (२) चकारग्रहणात् किं । अकारात् परस्य डम्ः द्वित्वसकार एव भवति न तु णो ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 19 ON PAGE 9

C D read the Sūtra तं तुं^(४) वंतु तुहं तुमं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 20 ON PAGE 9.

C D read the Sūtra अमि तुए तुमं तं च ॥

TO SŪTRA I, 24 ON PAGE 10.

निक्खंते ॥ (५) तुह्मेहिंते अन्हे^(६) धिट्ठा^(७) । युष्मद् वयं धृष्टाः ॥

SŪTRAS I, 25^a, 25^b ON PAGE 11

॥ 25^a ॥ तुहन् आमि ॥ २५^a ॥

युष्मद्ः आमि परे तुहम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ तुहं चियां ते गुणा । युष्माकम् एव ते गुणाः ॥

॥ 25^b ॥ तद् डो ॥ २५^b ॥

सविभक्तेः ॥ तद्^(८) । तुहन्मि ॥ तुह्मेसु^(९) ॥

* C दुवे । द्वौ । वर्णविच्छेप कलाद्वौ इति स्थितौ । सयोगस्ये^० (III, 30) इत्यनेन उ प्रत्यय आगत (द्वौ) । खरो^० (II, 4) इत्यनेन वै इत्यस्य वे भवति (द्ववे) ॥ † C चिय । एवार्यै णद्-चिय-चेयाः (II, 17) ॥ ‡ C तद् लयि सिद्धरूप । वर्मादु (III, 5 तयि) । कगच्चज^० (III, 34 तद्) । तद् सिद्ध ॥ § C युष्मद् । युष्मदो^० (III, 17 तुष्मद्) । रशपाणा स (III, 18 तुष्मद्) । वर्मो (III, 3 तुष्मद्) । श्चयोर्^० (III, 23 तुह्मद्) । अदागसो^० (II, 11) इत्य् अनेन दकारस्य लोपः (तुह्म) । एभि डे (I, 14 तुहन्मि) ॥

(१) D places तिषि after एव शसोऽपि ॥ (२) C repeats दुषि, etc , instead of the remark एवं शसोऽपि ॥ (३) D reads अकारात्, om किं ; C om the whole of this remark in the text, but adds it in the marginal gloss , D gives it as part of the text (४) C तु ॥ (५) D तुहो ॥ (६) D अन्हे ॥ (७) C धिट्ठा ॥ (८) C om. (९) Here follows sūtra II, 26 (see p 21) in C D.

SUTRAS I, 26^a—26^d ON PAGE 11

॥ 26^a ॥ ह्यं हं अहं^(१) सविभक्तेः ॥ २६^a ॥

असदः सौ परे ह्यं^(१) हं अहं एते^(२) आदेशा भवन्ति । सविभक्तेः^(४) ॥
^(५)ह्यं सौ एरो^(६) । तेण हं विद्धो । अहं कथयणामो* ॥

॥ 26^b ॥ अहं जसि ॥ २६^b ॥

असदो जसि परे अहं भवति । सविभक्तेः ॥ अहं मणुस्सा^(७) सूरः । वयं
 मनुष्याः शूराः^(८) ॥

॥ 26^c ॥ मम् अमि ॥ २६^c ॥

असदः अमि परे मम् आदेशो भवति । सविभक्तेः^(९) ॥ मं पेच्छ ॥ मां
 पश्य ॥

॥ 26^d ॥ अहं शसि^(१०) ॥ २६^d ॥

असदः शसि^(१०) परे अहं भवति । सविभक्तेः^(११) ॥ अहं पेच्छ । अस्मान्
 पश्य ॥

SUTRA I, 31^a ON PAGE 12

॥ 31^a ॥ ^(१२)मद् ऊँ ॥ ३१^a ॥

^(१)सविभक्तेः ॥ †मद्^(१२) । अहंमि^(१३) ॥ ^(१४)अहंमि^(१५) ॥

* C कथयणामो छतप्रणाम ॥ † C मद् । मयि । कथयण० (in, 31) इति मद् सिद्ध ॥

(१) C places सौ after सवि० ॥ (२) D ह्यं ॥ (३) C om (४) C D place सवि०
 before सौ ॥ (५) D अहं ॥ (६) D एरो ॥ (७) C मणुस्सा ॥ (८) C सूरः ॥ (९) C
 D place सवि० before अमि ॥ (१०) D शसि ॥ (११) C D place सवि० before
 शसि ॥ (१२) C om sūtra (१३) D मद् ॥ (१४) D om (१५) Here follows sūtra
 II, 27 (see p 22) in C D

TO SUTRA II, 5 ON PAGE 15

शितं ॥ ऋद्धिः^(१) इद्धी^(२) । वृषभः वसहो *उसहो^(३) रिसहो ॥ वृहस्यति-
 शब्दस्याष्टादश रूपाणि भवन्ति ॥ मिअस्सई भुअस्सई भयस्सई^(४) ।
 विहस्सई वुहस्सई वहस्सई । मिअप्पई भुअप्पई भयप्पई^(५) ।
 विहप्पई^(६) वुहप्पई वहप्पई । मिअप्पई^(७) भुअप्पई भयप्पई^(८) ।
 विहप्पई वुहप्पई वहप्पई^(९) ॥ सदृक् वर्णः सरिवणो । सदृक् रूपः
 सरिख्वो । सदृशः सरिसो । सदृचः सत्च्छो । एतादृशः एआ-
 रिसो । भवादृशः भवारिसो । यादृशः जारिसो । तादृशः तारिसो ।
 कीदृशः केरिसो । ईदृशः^(१०) एलिसो^(११) । अन्यादृशः अणारिसो ।
 अस्मादृशः अम्हारिसो । एष्मादृशः तुम्हारिसो । इत्यादि ।

TO SUTRA II, 9 ON PAGE 16

कउन्ना ॥ सौधं सउद्धं । मौनं मउणं । पौरुषं पउरिसं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 11 ON PAGE 17.

भरि० ॥ पडिवयाणं । यत् जं । तत् तं ॥

* C दृषम' । खरा० (ii, 5) इत्यनेन दृ इत्यस्य वृ (वृषभ) । कगचज० (iii, 34) इत्यनेन
 वकारस्य लोपः । उ स्थित (उषभ) । रशपा० (iii, 18) उषभ) । हो० (iii, 13) उसह' ।
 एदोद्र० (ii, 10) उसहो) । खराणा० (ii, 1) उसहो) ॥ † C वृहस्यति । खरा० (ii, 5)
 विह०) । पवयोर्० (iii, 22) पिह०) । प्रथम० (iii, 11) फिह०) । पुन प्रथम० (iii, 11)
 मिह०) । चकारस्य खस्य विहोपे छते ह्य इति स्थित (मिह्य०) । अदागमो० (ii, 11)
 इत्यनेन हलोप (मिह्य०) । श्वलोभ्यो० (iii, 2) मिह्यसतिः) । लोपो० (iii, 24) मिह्यसति) ।
 कगचज० (iii, 34) मिह्यसद्) । खरो० (ii, 4) मिह्यसद्) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10) मिह्यसद्) ।
 मिह्यसद् इति सिद्धं ॥ ‡ C सदृक्वर्ण' । खरा० (ii, 5) सदृक्) । तवर्गस्य० (iii, 16)
 सदृक्) । सदृहा० (iii, 21) सलिक्) । रलयोर्० (iii, 22) सरिक्) । अदागमो० (ii,
 11) सरि-वर्णः) । रेफ० (iii, 9) सरिवण) । लोपो० (iii, 24) सरिवण) । एदोद्र० (ii, 10)
 सरिवणया) । खराणा० (ii, 1) सरिवणो) ॥ § C प्रतिपत् । अदागमः ॥

(१) C ऋद्धि, D ऋद्धी ॥ (२) C इद्धी, D इद्धी ॥ (३) D om (४) C places this after
 वृहस्यद् ॥ (५) C places this after वृहस्यद् ॥ (६) D places this after वृहस्यद् ॥
 (७) D has again प्प in the following forms, instead of य ॥ (८) C places this
 after वृहस्यद् ॥ (९) D repeats वहस्यद् ॥ (१०) D एदृशः ॥ (११) So both C D

कम् ॥ सम्यक्^(१) सम^(२) । ईषत्^(३) ईसं ॥

सिरे० ॥ सिराण* ॥

TO SUTRA II, 12 ON PAGE 17

Commentary सर्वासां स्यादीनां त्यादीनां च द्विवचनं वज्र० ॥

वम० ॥ ण्यणा । सोहंते ॥

SUTRAS II, 13^a, 13^b ON PAGE 17

॥ 13^a ॥ प्रथमाया द्वितीया अर्षे ॥ १३^b ॥

चतुर्विंशतिर् अपि जिनवराः । चउवीसं वि जिणवरा तित्ययरा^(४) मे
पसीअंतु ॥

॥ 13^b ॥ सप्तम्यास् तृतीया अर्षे ॥ १३^c ॥

तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं । तस्मिन् काले तस्मिन् समये^(५) ॥

SUTRA II, 14 ON PAGE 18

॥ 14 ॥ न सुतङ्गनञाः ॥ १४ ॥

सुता वर्णाः डकारनकारञकाराश् च प्राकृते न भवन्ति ॥ श्लोकः ।

इरे औ खरौ ततः पश्चात् च ऋ ऌ ॥ चतुःखराः ।

ईअः डजनशषाः^(६) सन्ति प्राकृते नैव कर्हिचित् ॥ १ ॥ (D) ॥

* C गिरस् । (गिरसा) ॥ † C नयने । शोभेते ॥ ‡ C ऐसौ खरौ० । गाथा(१) ।

तेत्तीस विजणाइ सत्तवीसा सरा तच्चा भणिया ।

चत्तारि य जोगवहा चउसङ्गी(७) मूलवसा ओ ॥ १ ॥

चयवरल । जणनडम । भदधधम । जडदगद । इठयखफ(८) । चटतकप । शपस ॥ १२ ॥
अथावा । इईई । उऊऊ । ऋॠॠ । लृॠॠ । एएए ऐऐऐ । ओओओ । औऔऔ ॥ १३ ॥
इ इ ष ष (९) ॥ ४ ॥ ६४(१०) मूलवर्षा भवति सङ्कते(११) । प्राकृते ५२ भवति ॥ ओ इति
संवाधने(१२) ॥ § C अ. इति विसर्जनीय । (१३) ककार उच्चारणार्थ । कुमारीस्तनयुगला-
हतिर् वर्षा विसर्जनीयसंज्ञा भवति । शृगवद् बालवत्सस्य बालिकाकुचयुग्मवन्नेत्रवत् कृष्णसर्पस्य
(१४) विसर्गोऽयम् इति स्मृतः ॥

(१) C om (२) B रम् ॥ (३) C om, D इषत् ॥ (४) D तिक्खयरा ॥ (५) See
Bhāgavata (ed Weber) p 260, Kalpasūtra (ed Jacobi) p 33 (६) C अ ड ज ॥
(७) C ०सङ्गी ॥ (८) खफडय ॥ (९) MS indistinct, ष for ष ॥ (१०) C ॥ ६६ ॥
(११) C reverses प्राकृते सङ्कते ॥ (१२) See H C II, 203, 199 (१३) C ककार,
om र ॥ (१४) C विसर्गा । यमिति ॥

TO SUTRA II, 15 ON PAGE 18

प्रकृतिः ॥ कचिद् अर्द्धानुस्वारोऽपि भवति ॥

सकृत् ॥ सकारो* । वीसा । तीसा । लोप ॥

अंगो ॥ देवेहिं । प्रकृति ॥ देवेहिं । लोप ॥ देवेहिं । (अर्द्धानुस्वार^(१)) ॥

SUTRA II, 19 ON PAGE 19

॥ 19 ॥ तु ता चा द्रु तु ढण लुआण ओ वि प्पिणु वेप्पिणु पूर्व० ॥ १३ ॥

ओत्तूण ॥ काउआण । वंदेवि ॥ कप्पि ॥ वंदेप्पिणु^(२) । पणवेप्पिणु ॥

TO SUTRA II, 20 ON PAGE 20

फडिओ ॥ ओक^(३) ।

(४)वतोर् मतोर् (५)इल्ल उल्ल आल आलू इरा मणः ।

वतो मा मत्त दत्ताण्^(६) च यथा लल्लं दण्^(७) स्यताः ॥ १ ॥

शोभवान् सोहिस्सो । विकारवान् विआरुक्को । अद्धावान् सद्धालो । खेहवान्

णेहल्लू । गर्ववान् गव्विरो । धनवान् धणमणो धणवत्तो । हनुमान् हणुमा

हणुमत्तो । पुण्णवान् पुण्णमत्तो । मानवान् माणदत्तो^(८) । काव्यवान्

कव्वइत्तो^(९) ॥ तत्र भवेऽपि इल्ल उल्लो ॥ ग्रामे भवः गामिस्सो । पुरे भवः

पुरिस्सो ॥ अधो भवः । अधो हेट्ठ^(६) । अधः स्थाने हेट्ठादेशो^(६) भवति ।

हेट्ठिस्सो^(६) ॥ उपरि भवः उवरिस्सो । आत्मानि भवः अपुल्लो ॥

SUTRA II, 21 ON PAGE 20

॥ 21 ॥ ता ताव जा जावास् तावद्यावतोः ॥ २१ ॥

* C सकार ॥

(१) C D om (२) D व० ॥ (३) C om (४) C reads वतो स्थाने इल्ल०, and makes it to be a new sūtra (५) D reads अल्ल for आल ॥ (६) C D दत्ताण् ॥ (७) D inserts numbers after each suffix, thus इल्ल१ उल्ल२, etc, C supercribes them, thus इल्ल^१ उल्ल^२, etc. (८) D ०दत्तो ॥ (९) C हेठ्ठ, हेठा०, हेठि० ॥

तावच् कृद्स्य यावच् कृद्स्य तु तातावौ जाजावौ भवतः ॥ गाथा । etc.

TO SUTRA II, 24 ON PAGE 21.

भवति ॥ गाथा ।

*गुरुलज्जप्रयत्याणं तग्गुणमुल्लं हवेडं सव्वेसिं ।

कुद्धिअतिसिआण भोज्जं जलपाणं तं अमुल्लं रहु ॥ १ ॥

TO SUTRA II, 26 ON PAGE 21

भवति ॥ भे सुणु । त्वं शृणु ॥

निशम्यत ॥ भे भणामि । त्वां भणामि ॥

कृतं ॥ भे कयं युष्माभिः कृतं । भे अहं णिक्किट्ठो^(१) त्वं अहं निःकट्ठः ।

भे अहं सूर्रो युष्मद् अहं शूरः^(२) । भे देसो तव देशः । भे देसो

युष्माकं देशः । भे णिहिदं त्वयि निहितं । भे णिहिदं युष्मासु

निहितं ॥

TO SUTRA II, 27. ON PAGE 22

भवति ॥ भे भणामि । अहं भणामि ॥

SUTRAS II, 27^a—27ⁱ ON PAGE 22

॥ 27^a ॥ इजेराः पादपूरणे^(१) ॥ २७^a ॥

॥ 27^b ॥ जि अव्ययं एवार्थं ॥ २७^b ॥

॥ 27^c ॥ एवरि आनंतर्था^(२), ॥ २७^c ॥

॥ 27^d ॥ एवरु केवलार्थं^(३) ॥ २७^d ॥

॥ 27^e ॥ यदेः कुडु^(४) ॥ २७^e ॥

* C गुरुलज्जपदार्थानां तद्गुणमौल्यं भवति सर्वथा । चुधितद्विपितानां भोज्यं जलपानं (तद्गुणमौल्यं) खलु ॥

(१) D णिक्किट्ठो ॥ (२) C D सूर ॥ (३) See H C II, 217 (४) See H C II, 188 (५) See H. C. II, 187 (६) See H C IV, 422, 19.

॥ २७' ॥ धूयु ह्विह्व सुत्साया ॥ २७^० ॥

॥ २७^६ ॥ दडवड^(१) शौघार्थं ॥ २७^७ ॥

* दडवड^(१) होइ विहाणु ॥

॥ २७^८ ॥ अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखयेतलतो गमने डवडव ॥ २७^९ ॥

डवडव चरियाए ॥

॥ २७^१ ॥ ण णउ णाद् णावद्^(१) जणि जणु मणु द्वार्ये^(२) ॥ २७^२ ॥

(^३)मिव पिव विव व्व व विअ द्वार्ये वा भवन्ति ॥

॥ २७^३ ॥ दाणिं एहिं^(४) एत्तहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥ २७^४ ॥

॥ २७^५ ॥ यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिनतिमौ ॥ २७^६ ॥

दोहा^(६) ।

कालु लहेविणु जोइया (^७)जिम जिम मोऊ^(८) गलेइ ।

(^९)तिम तिम दंसणु^(१०) लहइ जो^(११) णिवमे^(१२) अण्णु^(१३) मुणेइ ॥१॥

SU'TRA II, 29^a

॥ २९^a ॥ नो डः ॥ २९^० ॥

* C शौघ (भवति) विभात ॥ (दोहा) ।

ढोला मद^(१४) तुऊ^(१५) वारिथा सा कुष दीहा माणु ।

णिइए^(१६) गमिही रऊडो दडवड^(१) होइ विहाणु ॥ १ ॥

मान प्राप्तं नायक प्रति काचिन् नायिका प्राह^(१६) । ढोला हे नायक मया ल वारित दीहा दीर्घं मानं दयं सा कुष । निद्रथा राचिर् गमिष्यति । दडवड^(१) शौघ विभात प्रभातं हे इ^(१७) (भवति) ॥ † C काल (लब्धा जायाया) यथा यथा मोह गलति । तथा तथा दर्शनं लभते (यावत् नियमेन) आत्मानं (सन्त्यते) ॥

(१) C दडवड ॥ (२) D णावयद् ॥ (३) See H C IV, 444 (४) C om the commentary (५) D एवहिं ॥ (६) C om, D गाथा ॥ (७) D जिमि जिमि ॥ (८) D मोह ॥ (९) D तिमि तिमि ॥ (१०) D दंसण ॥ (११) C जीवो, D जीव, both con metr (१२) D णिवसे ॥ (१३) D अण्णु c m (१४) C मद तुऊ c m (१५) C णिइए, here ए is short, metri causa, = णिइए, see Vr. 5, 22 (१६) C नायका प्राहा ॥ (१७) C हो ॥

स्वरात् परस्य असंयुक्तस्य अनादेर् नस्य प्रायो डो भवति ॥ संहननं ।
संहडण सघडणं सहणं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3 ON PAGE 23

रत्नं ॥ स्यष्टं फुडं । स्यष्टं^(१) पुट्टं^(२) । उत्थाष्टं उक्किट्टं^(३) । नष्टः णट्टो^(४) ।
दुष्टः दुट्टो^(५) । सुष्टः सुट्टो^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6 ON PAGE 24.

जच्छी ॥ तीक्ष्णं तिक्खं । आत्मा आदा आया अत्ता^(१) अत्ता । सर्वज्ञः
सव्वणू^(२) ॥ वेति किं । वच्चि वेम्मि ॥

TO SUTRA III, 9 ON PAGE 25

पवरो ॥ भमरः, भवरो भमरो भसलो ॥
हस्सो ॥ प्रथमशब्दस्य चत्वारि रूपाणि । पुट्टमो पट्टमो पढमो पुढमो ॥
स्त्री थी ॥

SUTRA III, 11^a

॥ 11^a ॥ तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमाद्वितीयौ ॥ ११^a ॥

वर्गाणां तृतीयचतुर्थयोः स्थाने यथासंख्यं प्रथमाद्वितीयौ भवतः ॥ नगरं
णकरं । मार्गणः मक्कणो । गिरितटं किरितटं । मेघः मेखो । व्याघ्रः
वक्खो । घर्मः खम्मो । राजा राचा । जर्जरं चच्चरं । जीमूतः चीमूदो^(१) ।
निर्झरः णिच्छरो । झर्झरः क्खच्छरो । तडागं तडाकं^(२) । मंडलं मंटलं ।
डमरुकः टमरुको । गाढं काठं । षंडः संठो^(३) । ढक्का^(४) ठक्का । मदनः
मतनो^(५) । कंदर्पः कंतप्पो । दामोदरः तमोतरो । मधुरं मधुरं ।
बंधवः पंधवो ॥

(१) D स्यष्ट ॥ (२) C °ट, D °ट्ट ॥ (३) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥ (४) C °टो, D °ट्टो ॥
(५) D अत ॥ (६) C D सव्वण ॥ (७) So C D, with ट ॥ (८) So C D, with ड, but
in C corrected to ट ॥ (९) D सट्टो^(१) ॥ (१०) D ढक्का^(१) ॥ (११) So C D,
but C has a marginal correction in pencil रुतेशो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 12. ON PAGE 26

पडि० ॥ जिनप्रतिमा जिणपडिमा । वितस्तिः^(१) विहत्थी^(१) । वसतिः वसही ।
 भरतः भरहे । कातरः काहलो । मातुलिंगः^(२) माज्जलिंगो ।
 पापं पावं । पुत्रः विट्ठो । पुत्री विट्ठी^(३) ।

SUTRA III, 15^a ON PAGE 27.

॥ 15^a ॥ पवयोर् सो वा ॥ १५^a ॥

पकारवकारयोः स्थाने मकारो वा भवति ॥ शवरः^(४) सवरो समरो ।
 खन्नः^(५) सिमिणो सिमिणो । नीवी^(५) णीवी णीमी । पूर्वः^(६) पुब्बो^(७)
 पुरिसो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 16 ON PAGE 27.

दड्ढो ॥ वर्द्धमानः वड्ढमाणो । दड्ढः वुड्ढो ॥
 धणं ॥ खिद्यते खिज्जण । रुदितं रुणं ॥

SUTRA III, 17^a ON PAGE 27

॥ 17^a ॥ जस्य रः ॥ १७^a ॥

जकारस्य स्थाने रकारो भवति ॥ व्युत्सजामि वोसरामि । व्युत्सजति
 वोसरइ ॥ यट्ठिः लट्ठी^(८) । यट्ठिका लट्ठिआ^(९) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 19 ON PAGE 28.

नानं ॥ राजा राणा । आज्ञा आणा ॥

TO SUTRA III, 20 ON PAGE 28.

कण० ॥ ^(१०)करीरः कणीरो । करोति कुणइ ॥
 वज्झो ॥ भगिणी । वड्ढिनी भड्ढणी ॥

(१) D वितस्ती ॥ (२) D विहत्थी ॥ (३) D ०लिंगो ॥ (४) D विट्ठी ॥ (५) D om (६) D पूर्वः ॥ (७) D पुब्बो ॥ (८) C लठी, D लट्ठी ॥ (९) C ०ठिआ, D ०ट्ठिआ ॥ (१०) C om this example.

TO SUTRA III, 21 ON PAGE 28

जिह्वा ॥ वडमुखं^(१) वलमुखं । गरुडः^(२) गरुलो । तडागः तलाओ^(३) ।
 कौडति कीलड^(४) । स्फटिकः फलिहो ।

SUTRAS III, 22, 22^a ON PAGE 28.

॥ 22 ॥ पवयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ २२ ॥

पवयोर् व्यत्सासो भवति ॥ पापं पावं ॥

॥ 22^a ॥ रलयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ २२^m ॥

पर्यंकः । etc

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 29

जग्दा ॥ कस्मात् कग्दा । तस्मात् तग्दा^(५) । तस्मिन् तग्दि^(६) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 30 ON PAGE 31

वरिसं ॥ श्री सिरी । द्वीः^(७) द्विरी । अर्दत् अरहंतो । आचार्यः आय-
 रिओ^(८) । स्त्री इत्थी^(९) ॥

पदुम ॥ तन्वी तणुवी । लघ्वी लज्जवी । गुर्वी गुरुवी । पृथ्वी पुह्वी ।
 (१०)वङ्गी (१०)वज्जवी । मृद्वी मदुवी । स्यात् सिया^(११) । स्यादादः
 सिआवाओ^(१२) । भव्यः भविओ^(१३) । (१४)श्वः क्षतं सुवे कथं । स्वे
 जनाः सुवे जणा । ज्या जीआ ॥

TO SUTRA III, 31 ON PAGE 31

तेरह ॥ त्रयस्त्रिंशत्^(१५) तेतीसा । त्रयोविंशतिः^(१५) तेवीसा ॥

(१) D व० ॥ (२) D गु० ॥ (३) D तक्काड ॥ (४) D कीलड ॥ (५) D तक्का ॥ (६) D तक्कि ॥ (७) D द्वी ॥ (८) D ०रिड ॥ (९) D इत्थी ॥ (१०) D व० ॥ (११) C सिया ॥ (१२) D ०वाड ॥ (१३) D भविड ॥ (१४) D श्व० ॥ (१५) C om.

SUTRA III, 34 ON PAGE 32

॥ 34 ॥ कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुक्^(१) ॥ ३४ ॥

खरात् परेषां अनादिभूतानां असंयुक्तानां कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुग्
भवति ॥ क^(१) । काकः काओ^(२) ॥ ग । नागः णाओ^(३) ॥ च । पिशाचः
पिसाओ^(४) ॥ ज । गजः गओ ॥ त । शितं सिअं ॥ द । मदः मओ ॥ प ।
नूपुरं ऐउरं ॥ य । निश्चयः णिच्छओ^(५) ॥ व । देवः देओ^(६) ॥ अनादेर्
इति किं ॥ कालो । गंधो । चोरो । परउट्टो^(७) ॥ कचिद् आदेर् अपि ॥
पुनः उणो^(८) । गंधं अंधं । च अ । वृषभः उसट्टो ॥ असंयुक्तस्येति किं ॥
अर्कः^(९) अक्को । चक्रं^(१०) चक्कं । कचित् संयुक्तस्यापि ॥ नक्तं चरः एअंचरो ।
नमस्कारः एमोयारो एवयारो^(११) ॥ प्रायो ग्रहणात् कचिन् न भवति ॥
शपथः^(१२) सवट्टो । शापः^(१३) सावो । सकुसुमं^(१४) । प्रयागजलं^(१५) पयाग-
जलं । प्रयुक्तं पजुत्तं^(१६) । विप्रयोगः विप्पजोओ ॥

SUTRA III, 35 ON PAGE 32

॥ 35 ॥ यत्वं अवर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥

कगचजतदपयवां प्रायो लुकि सति शेषोऽवर्णोऽवर्णपरो यत्वं आपद्यते ॥

TO SUTRA III, 36 ON PAGE 32

लच्छी ॥ इति श्रीचंडिकातप्राकृतलक्षणो^(१६) व्यंजनविधानं तृतीयं समाप्तं ॥

TO SUTRA III, 39 ON PAGE 33

पगुत्ते ॥ पुरुषः पुलिशे । ^(१७)एषः एष्टे । ^(१८)मेषः^(१८) मेषे ॥

(१) See H. C I, 177 (२) D adds numbers, thus क १, ग २, etc (३) D काउ, and adds the following examples कोकिला कोइला । काकी काई । प्रतिहूलः पडि-
कलो ॥ (४) D णाउ ॥ (५) D पिसाउ ॥ (६) D णिच्छिओ ॥ (७) D देवो ॥ (८) C
उट्टो, D उट्टो, D adds the Ski परपुष्ट ॥ (९) D ओणो ॥ (१०) C om (११) D adds
नवकार ॥ (१२) C D स० ॥ (१३) C आप (modern Hindi खाप) (१४) C सकुसुम ॥
(१५) C पजुत्त ॥ (१६) D reads प्राकृतप्रकाशे ॥ (१७) C om this example (१८)
D मेष ॥

गाथा^(१) ।

(१) लहृश्वत्रशनमिलशुलशिलविश्रलिदमंदाललाजिदंद्दिजुगे^(२) ।

वौलजिणे पक्खालदु मम ^(३)शयलम् अवज्जजंवालं* ॥ १ ॥

SU'TRA III, 39^a ON PAGE 33

॥ 39^a ॥ ^(४)शौरसेन्यां तकारस्य दकारो वा भवति ॥ ^(५)दाव ताव । कदं

कयं । ^(६)गदं गयं । सुदं सुअं । इत्यादि ॥

॥ श्लोकः^(७) ॥

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चैवाप्रभंशोऽथ पिशाचिकी ।

मागधी ^(८)शौरसेनी च षड्भाषाश्च प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१॥

* Ed रभस वभ-नच-सुर-शिर-विगलित-मदार-राजिताद्भि-युगः ।

वीरजिन प्रचालयतु मम सकलम् अथय-जवाल ॥ १ ॥

(१) C om (१) D दलश, C originally दलश, but corrected into लहृश, also C D नसिच, but in H C IV, 288 नसिल, also D विश्रविद् ॥ (२) D भुगे ॥

(३) C D सयलम् ॥ (४) C D give no sūtra for this commentary, but add it as if it were part of sūtra 39 (५) D prefixes ताव (sic), see H C IV, 262 (६) C D read पदं पय ॥ (७) C om (८) C D सौ० ॥

APPENDIX B C D.

TO SUTRA I, 3 ON PAGE 3

शस् ॥ गंगा । (१) तुम्हे रक्खउ(२) । रक्खउ(२) वो वः । (३) अम्हे रक्खउ(२) ।
रक्खउ(२) नो(४) नः ॥

उसि ॥ (५) तस्सा तस्सा(६) ॥

उस ॥ (७) पुत्तो ते । पुत्तो मे । तव सुहं । मम सुहं(८) ॥

डि ॥ गामे(९) । कुले(९) । तत्र(१०) तत्थ(११) । तस्मिं(१२) तन्दि । त्वयि तयि ।
मयि(१३) ॥

TO SUTRA II, 4 ON PAGE 15

इंगाला ॥ (१४) विंशतिः वीसा । त्रिंशत्(१५) तीसा । वच्चे(१५) *वुच्च्(१६) ।
(१७) वच्चि वेन्नि(१७) ॥

नेपुरं ॥ (१५) संगट्ठाति संगिण्हइ(१८) । छात्वा कट्टु(१९) । †नयनविह्नीनं(२०)
सुहं । निर्वार्यते(२१) नीवारिअइ(२२) ॥

* B ग्रुवे ॥ † C नयनविह्नीन सुख ॥

(१) C D तुम्हे ॥ (२) B रक्खओ ॥ (३) D अच्चे ॥ (४) C D वो ॥ (५) B तस्सा ॥
(६) B ताह, D adds यस्सा जस्सा जिस्सा । कस्सा कस्सा किस्सा, and C D add गिरिपो
(see I, 12) (७) C D ते पुत्तो । मे पुत्तो ॥ (८) C D add Skr तव सुख । मम सुख ॥
(९) C D add गामस्मि and कुलस्मि ॥ (१०) C om (११) D तत्थ ॥ (१२) B C D
तस्मिन्, the whole reading in B is confused तत्थ । तस्मिन् । तत्र । तस्मि (or तस्मि ?) ।
तन्दि । तन्दि (or तन्दि ?) ॥ (१३) B त्वयि मयि तद् मद, D त्वयि तद् मयि मद, C only
तद् मद ॥ (१४) B om this example (see III, 32 II, 15) (१५) B om Skr transla-
tion, but see the marginal gloss (१६) D वु० ॥ (१७) D repeats वेन्नि ॥ (१८) B
संगिहइ ॥ (१९) B काट्टु, D कट्ट (see II, 19) (२०) B नदन वज्जुसुहं ॥ (२१) So B, C
D निर्वार्यते ॥ (२२) B निव्वा०, C D णीवा० ॥

TO SUTRA III, 3 ON PAGE 24

भक्करो ॥ कः करोति को करइ । कः पचति को पचइ^(१) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 6 ON PAGE 24.

लच्ची ॥ C D ॥ आत्मा अप्या । तीक्ष्णं तिहं^(२) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 23 ON PAGE 29

जम्हा ॥ ^(३)कृष्णः कण्ठो^(४) । ग्रीष्मः^(५) गिहो^(६) । जम्हा^(७) जम्हा^(८) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 24 ON PAGE 29

दुग्गा ॥ शक्रः सक्रो^(९) । तस्करः तक्करो ॥

TO SUTRA III, 27 ON PAGE 30

अन्येषाम् उक्तविशेषाणां द्वि० स एव भ० ॥ अ० अ० । स्वर्गं सगं । स० स० ।
 दुर्जनः दुज्जणो । नायः^(१०) नटो^(११) । भुक्तं भुक्तं । धान्यं धन्नं^(१२) ।
 सर्पः सप्पो । शुल्लं^(१३) सुल्लं । काव्यं कव्वं । शस्यं सत्तं^(१४) ॥

TO SUTRA III, 35 ON PAGE 32

नाया ॥ पिशाचाः पिशाया । ^(१५)वनराजा वणराया । माता माया^(१६) ।
 यदा जया^(१७) । ^(१८)पापफलं पाचहलं ॥ अवर्ण इति किं ॥ देवाः
 देव्रा^(१९) । पिता^(२०) पित्रा^(२१) । ^(२२)लोकस्य लोअस्स । भुवनं
 भुअणं । कचिद् भवत्य एव ॥ पिवति^(२३) पियइ ॥

(१) B पचइ or पचइ^२ ॥ (२) B तीक्ष्ण ॥ (३) A also has this example, see note १२, p 29, A C D place it before लृष्ण (see p 29), but B after जम्हा ॥
 (४) A कण्ठो (see note १२, p 29) (५) C D ग्रीष्मो ॥ (६) C D place this example before यस्मान् (see p 29) (७) B D जम्हा ॥ (८) D शक्को ॥ (९) C D नाट्य ॥ (१०) C D नट ॥ (११) So B, C D वृक्ष ॥ (१२) Conjectural, B has शुक्रं, C D शुक्तं शुक्तं ॥ (१३) B शल्ल ॥ (१४) B om this example (१५) B adds शारदा शारदा ॥ (१६) B adds अपकृत अवकृत (MS अपकृत) अपक्षित अवक्षित (MS अवक्षित), then follows पिता, then माता, then शारदा ॥ (१७) B देया ॥ (१८) B places this among the regular examples, see footnote १६ (१९) D पिया ॥ (२०) B om the remainder (२१) C om

I. INDEX OF SU'TRAS.

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER I.	Manuscripts			
			A	B	C	D
I, 1		सिद्धं प्राकृतं त्रेधा ॥	1	1	1	1
2		लिङ्गं च ॥	2	2	2	2
3		तस्मात् संस्कृतवद् विभक्तयः ॥	3	3	3	3
4		क्वचिद् व्यत्ययः ॥	4	4	4	4
5		सागमस्य अथ आसौ णो हे वा ॥	5	5	5	5
6		संख्याया एहः ॥	6	6	6	6
	CD 6 ^a	टा णः ॥	—	—	7	7
7		द्वि भिसः ॥	7	7	8	8
8		द्वितो भ्यसः ॥	8	8	9	9
9		तृतीयादीनां एवं एकत्वे स्त्रियां ॥	9	9	10	10
10		आउ लोपा जश्शसोः ॥	10	10	11	11
	CD 10 ^a	दित्रिशब्दाभ्यां जश्शसोर् णिः ॥	—	—	12	12
11		पुसि पूर्वत्वं ॥	11	11	13	13
	C 11 ^a	क्लीवे जश्शसोर् इं ॥	—	—	14	—
12		णो डसेश् च ॥	12	12	15	14
13		स्सश् च डसः ॥	13	13	16	15
14		एन्मि डेः ॥	14	14	17	16
15		ए शसो ऽतः ॥	15	deest	18	17
16		तो तु द्वितो लोपास् तस्य आतः ॥	16	16	19	18
17		तद् इदमोः से षष्ठीरूपाणां ॥	17	17	20	19

CHAPTER I

Text	Appendix		A	B	C	D
18		युगदः ॥	18	18	21	20
19	C D	[तं तुं तुवं तुहं C D] तुमं सौ सवि- भक्तेः ॥	19	19	22	21
20	C D	अमि तुए [तुमं तं C D] च ॥	20	20	24	23
21		तुम्मे जसि ॥	21	21	23	22
22		तुम्मे शसि ॥	22	22	25	24
23		ते तुमे तद् तए टायां ॥	23	23	26	25
24		तुमाहिं तुमाहिंते तुमाते तदत्तो पंचम्यां ॥	24	24	28	27
25		तुह्नुज्जुतुह्नु षष्ठ्यां ॥	25	25	29	28
	CD 25 ^a	तुह्नुम् अमि ॥	—	—	30	29
	CD 25 ^b	तद् डौ	—	—	31	30
26		असदः ॥	26	26	33	32
	CD 26 ^a	हं हं अहं सौ सविभक्तेः ॥	—	—	34	33
	CD 26 ^b	अन्हे जसि ॥	—	—	35	34
	CD 26 ^c	मम् अमि ॥	—	—	36	35
	CD 26 ^d	अन्हे शसि ॥	—	—	37	36
27		मे मए टायां ॥	27	27	38	37
28		मदत्तो ड्यौ ॥	28	28	39	38
29		अन्हाहिंते भ्यसि ॥	29	29	40	39
30		महमज्ज डसि ॥	30	30	41	40
31		अह्नुम् अमि ॥	31	31	42	41
	CD 31 ^a	मद् डौ	—	—	43	42

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II	A	B	C	D
	D 1 ^a	संज्ञतवत् संधिकार्यं पदयोः ॥	—	—	—	1
1		खराणां खरे प्रकृति लोप संधयः ॥	1	1	1	2
	D 1 ^b	खरस्य उद्धृते ॥	—	—	—	3
	D 1 ^c	न युवर्णस्य अस्वे ॥	—	—	—	4
2		संयोगपरे लोपः ॥	2	2	2	5
3		ह्रस्वं संयोगे ॥	3	3	3	6
4		खरोऽन्योऽन्यस्य ॥	4	4	4	7
5		खरा रि च ऋवर्णस्य ॥	5	5	5	8
6		एरैतः ॥	6	6	6	9
7		अइ च ॥	7	7	7	10
8		ओरैतः ॥	8	8	8	11
9		अउ च ॥	9	9	9	12
10		एद् ओद् र लोपा विसर्जनीयस्य ॥	10	10	10	13
11		अदागमोऽनुस्वर लोपौ च व्यंजनस्य ॥	11	11	11	14
12		द्वित्वं वज्रत्वेन ॥	12	12	12	15
13		षष्ठीवच् चतुर्थी ॥	13	13	13	16
	CD 13 ^a	प्रथमाया द्वितीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	14	17
	CD 13 ^b	सप्तम्यास् तृतीया आर्षे ॥	—	—	15	18
14	CD	न सुतङ् [-न CD] जाः ॥	14	14	16	19
15		अनुस्वारो वज्रत्वं ॥	15	15	17	20
16		गोर् गावि ॥	16	16	18	21
17		एवार्थे एद् चेया चियाः ॥	17	17	19	22
18		अथ अस्मिन् अलोपः ॥	18	18	20	23

CHAPTER II.

Text	Appendix		A	B	C	D
19	C D	नु ता चा हु नु ढण [द्विअण C D] ओ [वि C D] [प्पि A B] [प्पिणु वेप्पिणु C D] पूर्वकालार्थे ॥	19	19	21	24
20		मल् अर्थे आल दल्लौ ॥	20	20	22	25
	C D	तत्रभवेऽपि दल्ल उल्लौ ॥				
	C D	अधो हेट्टः ॥				
21	C D	ता ताव [जा जावास् C D] तावद् [यावतोः C D] ॥	21	21	23	26
22		उपमाने पिव इव विव विय व्व व जहा वतः ॥	22	22	24	27
23		ओलं अव अपयोः ॥	23	23	25	28
24		खलोः खुः ॥	24	24	26	29
25		तो वर्त्तमानार्थे ॥	25	25	27	30
26		भे सर्वासु युद्धदः ॥	26	26	I,32	I,31
27		अस्सदोऽपि [भे सर्वासु C D] ॥	27	27	I,44	I,43
	C D 27 ^a	इजेराः पादपूरणे ॥	—	—	28	31
	„ 27 ^b	जि अय्यं एवार्थे ॥	—	—	29	32
	„ 27 ^c	एवरि आनंतर्थार्थे ॥	—	—	30	33
	„ 27 ^d	एवरु केवलार्थे ॥	—	—	31	34
	„ 27 ^e	यदेः कुडु ॥	—	—	32	35
	„ 27 ^f	यूयू छिछि कुत्सार्था ॥	—	—	33	36
	„ 27 ^g	दडवड ग्रीघार्थे ॥	—	—	34	37
	„ 27 ^h	अतिरभसाद् ऊर्द्धमुखस्य इतस्ततो गमने डवडव ॥	—	—	35	38

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER II	A	B	C	D
	CD 27 ¹	एँ एउ एादं एावद् जणि मणु इवार्ये ॥	27	27	36	39
	„ 27 ^k	दाणिं एणिहं एत्ताहे एवहिं इदानीमः ॥	—	—	37	40
	„ 27 ^l	यथा तथा अनयोः स्थाने जिम-तिमौ ॥	—	—	38	41
28		इतेर् ईयः ॥	28	28	39	42
29		भावे क्षणः ॥	29	20	40	43
	CD 29 ^a	नो डः ॥	—	—	41	44

CHAPTER III.

1	हाद् यवौ लोप्यौ ॥	1	1	1	1
2	श्वलेभ्यो व्यंजनं ॥	2	2	2	2
3	वर्गे ॥	3	3	3	3
4	शे वर्गाद्यं ॥	4	4	4	4
5	वर्गाद् अवर्ग्यं ॥	5	5	5	5
6	शाच् च पंचमो वा ॥	6	6	6	6
7	दो वे वा ॥	7	7	7	7
8	षाट् टः ॥	8	8	8	8
9	रेफः पूर्वश् च ॥	9	9	9	9
10	असंयोगस्य ॥	10	10	—	—
11	प्रथमद्वितीययोर् द्वितीयचतुर्थौ ॥	11	11	10	10
	CD 11 ^a तृतीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमद्वितीयौ ॥	—	—	11	11
12	प्रथमस्य तृतीयः ॥	12	12	12	12
13	हो [A B ख]-चधभानां ॥	13	13	13	13
14	सस्य खङ्गहाः ॥	14	14	14	14

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III	A	B	C	D
15		यस्य जः ॥	15	15	15	15
	CD 15 ^a	पवयोर् सो वा ॥	—	—	16	16
16		तवर्गस्य चटवर्गौ ॥	16	16	17	17
17		युष्मदो यस्य तः ॥	17	17	I,27	I,26
	CD 17 ^a	जस्य रः ॥	—	—	18	18
18		रशषाणां सः ॥	18	18	19	19
19		हजथानां रनखाः ॥	19	19	20	20
20		गरहाणां घणझाः ॥	20	20	21	21
21		मडहानां वलभाः ॥	21	21	22	22
22	CD	चवयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥ (CD पव० व्य०)	22	22	23	23
	CD 22 ^a	रलयोर् व्यत्सासः ॥	—	—	24	24
23		शहयोर् लोपे नणमानाम् अधो होऽप- दादौ स्थितानां ॥	23	23	25	25
24		लोपे द्वित्वं ॥	24	24	26	26
25		क्वचिद् अलोपेऽपि ॥	25	25	27	27
26		तस्मिन् द्वितीयचतुर्थयोः प्रथमत- तीयौ ॥	26	26	28	28
27		स एव अन्येषां ॥	27	27	29	29
28		न पदादौ ॥	28	28	30	30
29		क्वचिद् अन्यत्र अपि ॥	29	29	31	31
30		संयोगस्य इष्टस्वरागमो मध्ये ॥	30	30	32	32
31		चवयोर् इद् उत्तौ ॥	31	31	33	33
32		संख्यायाम् तिश्योर् लोपः ॥	32	32	34	34

Text	Appendix	CHAPTER III	A	B	C	D
33		तस्य च ॥	33	33	35	35
34	C D	कतृतीययोः स्वरौ ॥ (C D कगचजत- दपयवां प्राचो लुक्)	34	34	36	36
35	C D	यत्वम् अवर्णे ॥ (C D य० अवर्णः)	35	35	37	37
36		शिष्टप्रयोगाद् व्यवस्था ॥	36	36	38	38
37		न लोपोऽपभ्रंशेऽधो रेफस्य ॥	37	37	IV, 1	IV, 1
38		पैशाचिक्यां रणयोर् लनौ ॥	38	38	IV, 2	IV, 2
39		मागधिकायां रसयोर् लशौ ॥	39	39	IV, 3	IV, 3
40	CD 39	शौरसेन्यां तस्य दो वा ॥	—	—	IV, 4	IV, 4

II. INDEX OF PRA'KRIT WORDS

OCCURRING IN THE FOREGOING PAGES.

Numbers preceded by capital letters refer to the Appendices, the others to the Text, words enclosed within angular brackets, [], refer to the Footnotes

अ ।

अ(च) C D, 111, 34.

अइसरिय 11, 7

अको 111, 3 9 27 36 C D, 111, 34

अग्नि (nom sg) 1, 3 अग्नि 1, 3 अग्निणो
(gen sg) 1, 13 अग्निस्स 1, 13 [अग्नि
1, 14] अग्निस्मि 1, 14 अग्नी (nom pl)
1, 11 अग्निणो (nom pl) 1, 12 अग्नि-
दि 1, 3 [अग्नीहितो 1, 8] अग्निस्तु 1, 3

अग्घो 111, 9 26

अग्घण 111, 9

अच्छति 11, 1

अच्छरा 111, 4

अज्ज C D, 1, 1

अज्झिबं D, 11, 14

अणारिसो C D, 11, 5

अत्ता C D, 111, 6.

[अत्थो 111, 9]

[अत्तेउरं 11, 10.]

अध C D, 111, 34

अपुल्लो C D, 11, 20

अप्पा 111, 3 B C D, 111, 6 अप्पु C D, 11, 27¹

अव 111, 9

अमल्ल C D, 11, 24

अन्ध (nom pl) 1, 3 C D, 1, 3, 24 26^b

अन्धे (acc pl) B C D 1, 3 C D, 1, 26^d

अन्धेहिं 1, 3 C D, 1, 7 अन्धेहितो 1, 3

अन्धाहितो 1, 29 अन्ध 1, 31. अन्धाण C D,

1, 5 अन्धाह C D, 1, 5 अन्धस्मि C D, 1,
31^a अन्धेसु 1, 3 C D, 1, 31^a

अन्धारिसो C D, 11, 5

अरुद्धतो 11, 11 C D, 111, 30 अरुद्धताण C D,

[अरिद्धंताण C D, 1, 5] [1, 5.

[अरुद्धताण C D, 1, 5]

अलिउलद C, 1, 11^a

अले 111, 38

अल्ला C D, 111, 6

अवऊढो B, 111, 34

[अवऊक्य B C D, 111, 35]

अवज्जं C D, 111, 39

अवघासो D, 11, 1^c

[अवद्धियं B C D, 111, 35]

असुल्लह C 1, 11^a

अह 1, 3 24 C D, 1, 26^a 11, 26

अहिं C D, 111, 39

आ ।

[आइणाहो 111, 11]

[आइरियाणं C D, 1, 5]

आइरियाण C D, 1, 5

आणा C D, 111, 19.

आदा C D, 111, 6

आमिस 111, 18

आयरियो C D, 111 30

आया C D, 111, 6

आल 11, 20 C D, 11, 20

आलू C D, 11, 20

इ ।

- इ C D, ii, 27^a
 इगाला ii, 4
 इक्षित ii, 3 iii, 4
 इह्री C D, ii, 5
 इक्ष C D, ii, 20
 इह्री C D, iii, 30.
 इमा ii, 1
 इय ii, 28
 इर C D, ii, 20
 इम C D i, 1
 इम ii, 20 C D, ii, 20
 इव ii, 1 22
 इमि ii, 5
 इह ii, 1 18
 इहच्छति ii, 1
 इहगतो ii, 1

ई ।

- ईसरो ii, 1
 ईस C D, ii, 11

उ ।

- उका iii, 3
 उकिट्ट iii, 8 C D, iii, 3.
 उक्ताम ii, 5 iii, 8 29
 उट्टो iii, 9
 उट्टु ii, 3 iii, 9 B C, iii, 5
 उणो C D, iii, 34
 उण्ल iii, 3
 उन्हा B C D, iii, 23
 उल्ल C D, ii, 20
 [उवज्जायाण C D, i, 5]
 उवज्जायाण C D, i, 5
 उवरिणो C D, ii, 20
 उसहो C D, ii, 5 iii, 34

ऊ ।

- ऊढा ii 1.

ए ।

- एयारिसो C D, ii, 5.
 एग iii, 12
 एहि C D, ii, 27^k.

एतद्दे C D, ii, 27^k

एत्य C i, 11^a

एति i, 12

एलिसो C D, ii, 5

एव ii, 19 24. 28

एवहि C D, ii, 27^k.

एरो C D, iii, 39

एस ii, 22 B C D, ii, 10 [एसो i, 4 एत
 ii, 10]

ओ ।

[ओ C D, ii, 14]

ओ ii, 19

ओवरओ ii, 23

ओसरित ii, 23

ओसह ii, 8

[ओहसिथ ii, 23]

ओहसित ii, 23

क ।

(क) को B C D, iii, 3 कि i, 23 [केण ii,
 *6] कन्हा C D, iii, 23 काण ii, 15 काहं
 ii, 15

कइण (कवि) B, iii, 34.

कईण (कपि) B, iii, 34,

कउरवा ii, 9

कउला, ii, 9

कज्ज ii, 3

कणवीरो iii, 20.

कणीरो C D, iii, 20

कण्हो B C D, iii, 23 कण्ह iii, 6

कत्य ii, 4

कतपो C D, iii, 11

कहस iii, 9

कदल i, 1.

कतुज्जोओ ii, 2.

[कहो iii, 23]

कमल [i, 1] ii, 22 कमलइ C, ii, 11^a

कम्भ ii, 11 कम्भाण i, 5 कम्भाह i, 5.

कतरे ii, 10

करइ B C D, iii, 3 [कुर C D, ii, 27^k]

कणइ C D, iii, 20. कतं i, 23 27 ii,

II. INDEX OF PRA'KRIT WORDS

OCCURRING IN THE FOREGOING PAGES.

Numbers preceded by capital letters refer to the Appendices, the others to the Text, words enclosed within angular brackets, [], refer to the Footnotes

अ ।

- अ(च) C D, III, 34.
 अइसरिय II, 7
 अक्षो III, 3 9 27 36 C D, III, 34
 अग्नि (nom sg) I, 3 अग्नि I, 3 अग्निषो
 (gen sg) I, 13 अग्निस्स I, 13 [अग्नि
 I, 14] अग्निम् I, 14 अग्नी (nom pl)
 I, 11 अग्निषो (nom pl) I, 12 अग्नि-
 हिं I, 3 [अग्नीहितो I, 8] अग्निह I, 3
 अन्धो III, 9 26
 अन्धर्ण III, 9
 अन्धति II, 1
 अन्धरा III, 4
 अन्ध C D, I, 1
 अन्धितं D, II, 14
 अन्धारिषो C D, II, 5
 अन्ध C D, III, 6
 [अन्धो III, 9]
 [अन्धेत्तं II, 10.]
 अन्ध C D, III, 34
 अपुष्पो C D, II, 20
 अप्पा III, 3 B C D, III, 6 अप्पु C D, II, 27
 अप III, 9
 अमृग C D, II, 24
 अन्ध (nom pl) I, 3 C D, I, 3 24 26^b
 अन्धे (acc pl) B C D, I, 3 C D, I, 26^d
 अन्धेहिं I, 3 C D, I, 7 अन्धेहितो I, 8
 अन्धाहितो I, 29. अन्ध I, 31. अन्धाण C D,

- I, 5 अन्धाह C D, I, 5 अन्धम् C D, I,
 31^a अन्धेत्तु I, 3 C D, I, 31^a
 अन्धारिषो C D, II, 5
 अन्धतो II, 11 C D, III, 30 अन्धनाण C D,
 [अन्धिताण C D, I, 5] [I, 5]
 [अन्धिताण C D, I, 5]
 अलिउलह C, I, 11^a
 अलो III, 38
 अल्लो C D, III, 6
 अवकटो B, III, 34
 [अवकट्य B C D, III, 35]
 अवक्क C D, III, 39
 अवयासो D, II, 1^c
 [अवदियं B C D, III, 35]
 अलुलह C I, 11^a
 अह I, 3 24 C D, I, 26^a II, 26
 °अहि C D, III, 39.

आ ।

- [आइणाहो III, 11]
 [आइरियाण C D, I, 5]
 आइरियाण C D, I, 5
 आणा C D, III, 19.
 आदा C D, III, 6
 आमिस III, 18
 आयरिषो C D, III, 30.
 आया C D, III, 6
 °आल II, 20 C D, II, 20
 °आलू C D, II, 20

इ ।

- इ C D, 11, 27^a
इगाला 11, 4
इच्छित 11, 3 111, 4
इङ्गी C D, 11, 5
इत्त C D, 11, 20
इत्थी C D, 111, 30
इमा 11, 1
इय 11, 28
इर C D, 11, 20
इल्ल C D i, 1
इल्ल 11, 20 C D, 11, 20
इव 11, 1 22.
इसि 11, 5
इह 11, 1 18
इहच्छति 11, 1
इहागतो 11, 1

ई ।

- ईसरो 11, 1
ईस C D, 11, 11

उ ।

- उक्ता 111, 3
उक्किड्ड 111, 8 C D, 111, 3.
उक्कोस 11, 5 111, 8 29
उट्टो 111, 9
उट्ट 11, 3 111, 9 B C, 111, 5
उणो C D, 111, 34
उप्पलं 111, 3
उन्हा B C D, 111, 23
उल्ल C D, 11, 20
[उवज्झायाण C D, 1, 5]
उवज्झायाण C D, 1, 5.
उवरिल्लो C D, 11, 20
उसच्चो C D, 11, 5 111, 34

ऊ ।

- ऊढा 11 1.

ए ।

- एच्चारिसो C D, 11, 5.
एगं 111, 12
एप्पि C D, 11, 27^k.

एत्तहे C D, 11, 27^k

एत्य Ci, 11^a

एति 1, 12

एल्लिसो C D, 11, 5.

एवं 11, 19 24. 28

एवहि C D, 11, 27^k.

एग्गे C D, 111, 39

एस 11, 22 B C D, 11, 10 [एसो 1, 4 एत 11, 10]

ओ ।

[ओ C D, 11, 14]

ओओ 11, 19

ओवरओ 11, 23

ओसरित 11, 23

ओसच्च 11, 8

[ओहसिथ 11, 23]

ओहसित 11, 23

क ।

(क) को B C D, 111, 3 कि 1, 23 [कोण 11, *6] कन्हा C D, 111, 23 काण 11, 15 काह 11, 15

कइण (कवि) B, 111, 34

कईण (कपि) B, 111, 34,

कउरवा 11, 9

कउल्ला 11, 9

कज्ज 11, 3

कणवीरो 111, 20.

कण्वीरो C D, 111, 20

कण्हो B C D, 111, 23 कण्ह 111, 6

कत्थ 11, 4

कत्थो C D, 111, 11.

कइम 111, 9

कदल 1, 1

कतुज्जोथो 11, 2.

[कन्हो 111, 23]

कमल [1, 1] 11, 22 कमलद C, 11, 11^a

कम्म 11, 11 कम्माण 1, 5. कम्माह 1, 5.

कतरे 11, 10

करद B C D, 111, 3 [कुर C D, 11, 27^k]

कुणद C D, 111, 20 कतं 1, 23 27 11,

18 26 कदं ॥, 12 C D, ॥, 39^a कयं
 C, ॥, 27 C D, ॥, 26 ॥, 30 ॥, 39^a
 कयं C D, १, 26^a कातव्य ॥, ४ ॥, 9
 29 कण्ठि ॥, 19 कट्टु ॥, 19 B C D, ॥,
 ४ काट्टण ॥, 5 काउच्याण [॥, 19] C D,
 करिं C, १, 11^a [॥, 19.
 कलं ॥, 39 कलाथो १, 25.
 कव्य ॥, 3 ॥, 2 B C D, ॥, 27.
 कव्वइत्तो C D, ॥, 20
 [कविणं ॥, 30]
 कथिज्जत ॥, 25
 कार्द B, ॥, 34 [C D, ॥, 34]
 काथो B, ॥, 34 C D, ॥, 34 कारण B,
 काठ C D, ॥, 11^a [॥, 34
 काया ॥, 35
 कालो C D, ॥, 34 कालु C D, ॥, 27¹
 कालेण C D, ॥, 13^b
 कावुरिस् B, ॥, 34 काउरिस् B, ॥, 34
 कासवो ॥, 29.
 काहलो C D, ॥, 12
 किरितट C D, ॥, 11^a
 कीलइ C D, ॥, 21.
 कीवो ॥, 5
 कुणइ C D, ॥, 20
 [कुवो ॥, 28]
 कुल १, 2 [कुलो १, ४] कुले B C D, १, 3
 [कुलम्भि B C D, १, 3] कुलानि १, 3
 कुलेसु १, 3
 कूइथा B, ॥, 34
 [कूथो ॥, 34] B, ॥, 34 कूवो B, ॥,
 34 कूरण B, ॥, 34.
 कूडु C D, १, 1
 कूलु C D, १, 1
 कूरिस्सो C D, ॥, 5
 कौचव D, ॥, 14
 कोइलो ॥, 34 [कोइलो C D, ॥, 34]
 कोमल १, 1
 कोहो ॥, 28
 कौरवा D, ॥, 14
 कौलवा D, ॥, 14.

ख ।

खगं ॥, 3
 खभो ॥, 10 19
 खसा ॥, 4
 खसो C D ॥, 11^a.
 खिज्जए C D, ॥, 16
 खिसा ॥, 30
 खु ॥, 24 C D, ॥, 24
 खुहो ॥, 28.

ग ।

गच्चण D, ॥, 1^b
 गति ॥, 17
 गथो C D, ॥, 34. B, ॥, 34 गएण B, ॥, 34
 गगा १, 2 (nom sg) गगां १, 3 गगार १, 9
 गंगा (acc pl) B C D, १, 3
 गच्छति ॥, ४ 10 [गमिही C D ॥, 27^६]
 गद C D, ॥, 39^a. गच C D, ॥, 39^a
 गंडाड C, १, 11^a.
 गएति C, १, 11^a
 गंधउडो D, ॥, 1^b
 गधो C D, ॥, 34
 गमीरा ॥, 21
 गयण ॥, 21 गयणातो १, 16. गयणातु १, 16.
 गयणाहितो १, 16 गयणा (abl sg) १, 16
 [गयणाहि १, 16]
 गरलो C D, ॥, 21
 गलेइ C D, ॥, 27¹.
 गव्विरो C D, ॥, 20
 गहवइ C D, १, 1
 गहेसो ॥, 1
 गासत्तण ॥, 29
 गामिज्जो C D, ॥, 20
 गानो (nom sg) ॥, 1 गासथो ॥, 1 गाने १,
 14 C D, १, 1 B C D, १, 3 गासम्भि १,
 14 B C D, १, 3 गानेहि १, 7 गामाहितो
 C D, १, 3 गानेहितो १, 8
 गागी (गार्द) ॥, 16 गावीथो [गावीउ गावी]
 ॥, 16 गावी गावीए गावीहि गावीहितो
 गावीण ॥, 16. गावीसु ॥, 16 [गावीसु ॥,
 16]

गिण्हति iii, 23
 गिण्हो ii, 22 B C D, iii, 23
 गिरियो 1, 12 [गिरीण 1, 3]
 गुणा 1, 17 25 30 C D, 1, 25^a
 [गुरु 1, 3] गुरु 1, 3, गुरुणा 1, 3 C D, 1,
 6^a गुरुणो (gen sg) ii, 13 [गुरुर 1, 14]
 गुरुन्नि 1, 14 गुरु (nom pl) 1, 11 गुरुया
 (nom pl) ii, 21 गुरुच्चि C D, 1, 7
 [गुरुच्चितो 1, 8] C D, 1, 3 गुरुण C D,
 1, 5 गुरुह C D, 1, 5 गुरुवी (nom sg)
 C D, ii, 30 गुरु० C D, ii, 24
 गोमई B, iii, 34
 पासो iii, 37

घ।

घत ii, 5
 घर iii, 10 19 20.
 घसि iii, 37

च।

चउवीस C D, ii 13^a
 चउसडी [C D, ii, 14]
 चक्क C D, iii, 34
 चच्चर C D, iii, 11^a
 चत्तारो C D, 1, 3 चत्तारि C D, 1, 3 [C
 D, ii, 14.] चउरो C D, 1, 3 चउण्ह C
 D, 1, 6
 चंद० iii, 39 [०चदे (nom pl) ii, 19]
 चदण ii, 22
 चदुज्जला ii, 1
 चन्द्रिकोज्जलीय 1, 1,
 चसर ii, 22
 चरियाए C D, ii, 27^h
 चार्दण B, iii, 34
 चाओ B, iii, 34 चारण B, iii, 34
 चिची C D, 1, 1
 चिड्ढति C D, 1, 3
 चिय 1, 31 ii, 17 [21] C D, 1, 25^a
 चीमूदो C D, iii, 11^a
 [चुखो ii, 15]
 चुनो ii, 15
 चय ii, 17

चोर C D, 1, 1
 चोरो C D, iii, 34.
 ०चा ii, 19
 चिय ii, 17 21.
 [च्छ ii, 22]

छ।

छक्क iii, 3
 छच्छरो C D, iii, 11^a
 छडो iii, 26
 छयथो iii, 3
 छम्भो ii, 3 14
 छिच्चि C D, ii, 27^f
 छुडु C D, ii, 27^o
 छुद्धिय० C D, ii, 24.

ज।

ज C D, ii, 11 जन्हा iii, 23 [जस्सा B C D,
 1, 3 जिस्सा B C D, 1, 3] जाहं C, 1,
 11^a [जेवि 1, 3.]
 जउणा B, iii, 34
 जडा iii, 12
 जडालो ii, 20
 जडिडो ii, 20
 जणा C D, iii, 30
 जण (declined) [C D, 1 1]
 जत्त iii, 6
 जंत० ii, 24
 जत्ता iii, 15
 जट्रो 1, 1
 जया B C D, iii, 35
 जल० C D, ii, 24 ०जलं C D, iii, 34
 जलति 1, 12
 जलहियो ii, 21
 ०जवाल C D, iii, 39
 जमो [1, 4] ii, 22
 जह C D, 1, 1
 जहा ii, 22
 जा (यावत्) [ii, 21] C D, ii, 21
 जादि iii, 37
 जाटियो C D, ii, 5
 जाल 1, 1

जाव ॥, 21 C D, १, १ C D, ॥, 21
 जि C D, ॥, 27^b
 [जिणिद० ॥, 19]
 जिण० C D, ॥, 13^a ॥, 12 जिणे (nom
 sg) ॥, [10] C D, ॥, 39
 जिनस्तु ॥, 13
 जिम्मा ॥, 1 21 26
 जिस C D, ॥, 27¹
 जिन्हो ॥, 23
 जीच्चा C D, ॥, 30
 जुगे C D, ॥, 39.
 जुव्वण ॥, 15
 जे C D, ॥, 27^a
 जो C D, ॥, 27¹
 जोइया C D, ॥, 27¹
 [जोगवच्चा C D, ॥, 14]
 जोयण० C D, १, 1

भा ।

भासरि० C D, १, 1

ट ।

टसरको C D, ॥, 11^a

०ट्टु ॥, 19

०ट्टितासा ॥, 38.

ठ ।

ठितो ॥, 16

ठक्का C D, ॥, 11^a

ड ।

डडो ॥, 16

डवडव C D, ॥, 27^b.

[डाढा ॥, 9]

ढ ।

[ढोळा C D, ॥, 27^६]

ण ।

ण [॥, 6 21] C, १, 11^a D, ॥, 1^c C D,
 १, 1०ण C D, १, 6^a

णवचरो C D, ॥, 34

णद ॥, 17

णईण C D, १, 5 णईच C D, १, 5 णइहितो
 C D, १, 3 णईहि C D, १, 7णकरं C D, ॥, 11^a.

णडो C D, ॥, 3.

णसो C D, १, 5

णसोयारो C D, ॥, 34

णवणा C D, ॥, 12

णरो C D, १, 26^a

णवयारो C D, ॥, 34

णवरि C D ॥, 27^cणवर C D, ॥, 27^dणवि C, १, 11^a

णवो C D, ॥, 34

णिकिडो C, ॥, 27 C D, ॥, 26

णिच (declined) [C D, १, 1]

णिच्छो C D, ॥, 34

णिच्छरो C D, ॥, 11^a[णिदर C D, ॥, 27^६]णियमे C D, ॥, 27¹

णिदिद C, ॥, 27 C D, ॥, 26.

णोमो C D, ॥, 15^aणोवी C D, ॥, 15^a

णेरर C D, ॥, 34.

णेचालू C D, ॥, 20

त ।

तं [१, 19] ॥, 18 C, ॥, 27 C D, १, 19

त १, 3 तुम (nom. sg) १, 19. 28 29

C D, १, 19 तुं [१, 19] C D, १, 19 तुव

[१, 19] C D, १, 19 तुहं [१, 19] C D,

१, 19 तुहं [C D, ॥, 27^६] ता १, 3 ता १,

3 त (acc sg) [१, 20] C D, १, 20 तुमं

(acc sg) १, 20 C D, १, 20 तुए (acc

sg) १, 20 C D, १, 20 ते (instr sg)

१, 28 तुमे १, 28 तद १, 28 तए १, 28

तुमाहि (abl sg) १, 24 तुमाहितो १,

24 तुमातो १, 24 तदतो १, 24 ते (gen

sg) B C D, १, 3 तव B C D, १, 3 तुह

१, 25 ॥, 22 तुव्व १, 25 ॥, 22 तुह १,

25 तवि B C D, १, 3 तवि B C D, १,

3 तद C D, १, 25^b तुह्वि C D, १, 25^b.

तुम्हे (nom pl) 1, 3 [21] C D, 1, 3
 तुम्हे (nom pl) 1, 21 तुम्हे (acc pl) B
 C D, 1, 3 तुम्हे (acc pl) i, 22 n, 27
 तुम्हेहि 1, 3 C D, 1, 7 तुम्हेहि m, 17
 तुम्हेहितो 1, 8 C D, 1, 24 तुम्हाण 1, 5
 तुम्हाण 1, 5 तुम्ह C D, 1, 25^a तुम्हेस 1,
 3 C D, 1, 25^b [तुम्हेस 1, 3]
 सं 11, 17. C D, 11, 11 24 तेण C D, 1,
 26^a तेण C D, 11, 13^b तीर 1 9 तार
 1, 9 तम्हा C D, 11, 23 तम्हा B C D,
 1, 3 तम्हा B C D, 1, 3 तम्हि B C D,
 1, 3 तम्हि B C D, 1, 3 C D, 11, 23
 तव B C D, 1, 3 तव्य B C D, 1, 3 ते
 1, 31 C, 1, 11^a C D, 1 25^a. तारण 1, 5
 ताच 1, 5 तेस 1, 3 तेसि 1, 3.
 तक्कं m, 9
 तक्करो B C D, 11, 24
 तडाक C D, 11, 11^a
 तणुवी C D, 11, 30
 तण्हा m, 23
 तमोतरौ C D, 11, 11^a
 तलाचो C D, 11, 21
 तपोपरोक्षो 11, 1
 तच C D, 1, 1
 [तच्चा C D, 11, 14]
 ता (तावत्) 11, 21 C D, 1, 1 n, 21
 तारिचो C D, 11, 5
 ताव 11, 21 C D, 11, 21 m, 39^a
 तिक्ख 11, 3 C D, 11, 6
 तिणि C D, 1, 10^a. तीचि C D, 1, 7 [तीचि
 C D, 1, 7 तीचि C D, 1, 7] तीचितो
 C D, 1, 3 तिण्ण C D, 1, 6 तीसु C D,
 1, 3 तीसु C D, 1, 3
 तिण्ह (तीक्ष्ण) B C D, 11, 6.
 तित्थं C D, 11, 13^a
 तित्थगरो 11, 12
 तिम C D, 11, 27ⁱ
 तियसीसो 11, 1
 •तिसिञ्चाण C D, 11, 24
 तीसा C D, 11, 15. B C D, 11, 4 तीसण्णं 1, 6

[•तुञ्चाण 11, 19]
 तुगी C D, 1, 1.
 तुम्हारिचो C D, 11, 5
 [तुल्लिज्जति 11, 21]
 •वृण 11, [5] 19
 [तेचीस C D, 11, 14] तेतीसा C D, 11, 31.
 तेरह 11, 22 31
 तेज 11, 6 [11, 25]
 तेवीसा C D, 11, 31
 तेगुणं C D, 11, 24
 •ता 11, 19
 •तु 11, 19
 थ ।
 थमो 11, 11
 थौ C D, 11, 9
 थूण C D, 11, 27ⁱ
 द ।
 दज्जते 11, 1
 दडवड C D, 11, 27^s.
 दड्डो 11, 16
 दम्मो 11, 9
 दसण C D, 11, 27ⁱ
 दर 11, 14
 दहि 1, 3 दहि 1, 3 दहिणा 1, 3 C D, 1,
 6^a दहिहि 1, 3
 दाढा 11, 11.
 दाणि C D, 11, 27^k.
 दार 11, 7
 दाव C D, 11, 39^a
 दित्तं 11, 10
 दीसते 11, 5 दिट्ठो 1, [19] 23 दिङ्ग 1,
 27 [11, 10]
 दीसो 11, 29 [दीसा C D, 11, 27^s]
 दुग्गा 11, 24.
 दुज्जणो 11, 9 B C D, 11, 27
 दुङ्ग 11, 11 दुङ्गं 11, 38 दुङ्गो C D, 11, 3.
 दुब्ब 11, 15 m, 3
 दूर C, 1, 11^a
 देवो B, 11, 34 C D, 11, 34 देवो 1, 2
 3 19 11, 10 देवं 1, 3 देवेण 1, 3 C

D, 1, 6^a [देवा (abl sg) B C D, 1, 3] देवस्य 1, 13 [देवे (loc sg) 1, 15 B C D, 1, 3 देवसि 1, 15 B C D, 1, 3] देवा (nom pl) B C D, 1, 35 देवा 1, 3 [11] 11, 12 देवाणि 1, 4 [देवाद् or देवादौ 1, 4] देवे (acc pl) 1, 15 देवेहि 1, 7 C D, 11, 15 देवेहि C D, 11, 15 देवेहि C D 11, 15 [देवेहिना 1. 8] देवाद् 1, 5 देवाण 1, 3 5 देवेसु 1, 3
देविन्द० 11, 1 देविदो 11, 2
देवो C, 11, 27 C D, 11, 26
दो C D, 1, 10^a दुषि C D, 1, 10^a दुवे C D, 1, 10^a दोहि C D, 1, 7 [दोहि C D, 1, 7 दोहि C D, 1, 7] दोहिना C D, 1, 3 दोरद् C D, 1, 6 दोषु or दोष C D, 1, 3
दोसा 1, 31

घ ।

घणमणो C D, 11, 20
घणवतो C D, 11, 20
घष 11, 16 [B C D, 11, 27]
घनङ्गो 11, 2
घञ् B C D, 11, 27.
घमो 11, 9
घारेहि 11, 21
घिङ्गा C D, 1, 24
[घारेहि 11, 21.]
घेनु 1, 3 घेनु 1, 3 घेनू 11, 4 घेनू (nom pl) 1, 10 घेनू 1, 10 घेनू 1, 10 घेनूहिना C D, 1, 3 घेनुहिना 1, 8 घेनू 1, 3

न ।

न 11, 21 11, 25
नई 1, 3 12 11, 31 B, 11, 34 नई 1, 3 नई 1, 9 नई (nom pl) 1, 10. नईयो 1, 10 11 1 नईउ 1, 10 नईहि 1, 3 11, 15 नईहिना 1, 5 नईणं 1, 3 नईसु 1, 3 नञ्जत 11, 25

नङ्गो B C D, 11, 27 नङ्ग 11, 16 [०नन्नि० C D, 11, 39]
०नन्नि० C D, 11, 39
नमो 11, 13
नयन० B C D, 11, 4
नयनण 11, 29
नह 11, 11
नाण 11, 6 नान 11, 19
नाणी 1, 24
नाघो 11, 11.

नाया 11, 35
०निकल 11, 39
निकलतो 1, 24
निगो० 11, 9
निह 1, 1 11, 16
निच्छयो 11, 11
निह्विय B, 11, 23
निह्विया B, 11, 23
निसामेय 11, 26
नीवारिथद् B C D, 11, 4
नीसाम्बसासा 11, 1
नेपुर 11, 4 नउर [11, 34] B, 11, 34
नेहेन 11, 27
नो B C D, 1, 3

प

पदजलो B, 11, 34
पदजलो 11, 34
पदणा B, 11, 34
पडई B, 11, 34
पडणो B, 11, 34
पडन B, 11, 34
पडरि C D, 11, 9
पडरेण B, 11, 84 ०पडरे C D, 1, 1.
पक्खालद् C D, 11, 39
पक्खं 11, 16 26
पंचपद् 1, 6
पञ्चुं C D, 11, 34
पक्खो 11, 3
[पडि कलो C D, 11, 31]
०पडिता C D, 11, 12.

पडिहत्थं C D, 1, 1
 पडिसिद्धं 11, 12
 पढसो C D, 11, 9
 पढुसो C D, 11, 9.
 पणपणस 11, 33
 पणवेष्णिण C D, 11, 19
 °पणासो C D, 1, 26^a
 [पण्ह 11, 6]
 पत्त 11, 3 B C, 11, 5
 पत्थो 11, 26
 पथवो C D, 11, 11^a
 पटुस 11, 30
 पनयि° 11, 38
 पनसत 11, 38
 पन्ना 11, 32
 पन्हो 11, 23
 पयइ B C D, 11, 3
 पयत्थाण C D, 11 24
 पयाग° C D, 11, 34
 परउट्ठो C D, 11, 34
 पलक्खो 11, 30
 पल्लत 1, 23 [पलत्त 1, 23 पलवित 1, 24]
 पन्नको 11, 22
 [पल्लारं 11, 22]
 पवरो 11, 9
 पव्वतो 11, 9
 पशुत्ते 11, 39
 °पसरु C D, 1, 1
 पसीकतु C D, 11, 13^a
 पस्स 1, 12 [पस्सति 1, 12]
 पाउत्था B, 11, 34
 °पाण C D, 11, 24
 पायहल्ल B C D, 11, 35.
 पाया 11, 12
 पाव [11, 22] C D, 11, 12 22
 पाद्धारो 11, 14
 पि 11, 4 10 18 21
 पिच्चा B C D, 11, 35.
 पिथइ B C D, 11, 35.
 पिव 11, 22 C D, 11, 27¹.

पिसाज्जी 11, 12
 पिसाथो B, 11, 34 C D, 11, 34 पिसारण
 B, 11, 34 पिसाया B C D, 11, 35
 पीढ 1, 3 [पीढो (nom sg) 1, 3] पीढं
 (acc sg) 1, 3 [पीढ 1, 3]
 पीलण 11, 24
 पुट्ट (स्यट्) 1, 1
 पुट्ट (स्यट्) 11, 8 C D, 11, 3.
 पुढसो C D, 11, 9
 पुढुसो C D, 11, 9
 पुणर 11, 10
 पुणमत्तो C D, 11, 20
 पुत्तो B C D, 1, 3
 पुथवी 11, 5
 पुप्फ 11, 26
 पुरिसो C D, 11, 15^a
 पुरिहो C D, 11, 20
 °पुलिदाण C D, 1, 1
 पुलिमे C D, 11, 39
 पुव्वो C D, 11, 15^a
 पुच्चवी C D, 11, 30
 पेच्च C D, 1, 3 1, 26^a 1, 26^d.
 °प्पि 11, 19
 [°प्पिणु 11, 19]
 फ ।
 फडालो 11, 20
 फडिलो 11, 20
 फणो 11, 22
 फरस 11, 11
 °फल B, 11, 34
 फलिहो C D, 11, 21.
 फुट 11, 8 29
 फुड C D, 11, 3
 व ।
 वडुवी C D, 11, 80
 °विंव° C D, 1, 1
 बुद्धि 1, 3 11, 1 10 बुद्धिं 1, 3 बुद्धीर 1, 9
 11, 4 बुद्धी (nom pl) 1, 10 बुद्धीयो 1,
 10 11, 1. बुद्धीउ 1, 10, बुद्धिदि 1, 3.

वुद्धिदो १, ८ वुद्धीण १, ३ C D, १, ५
 वुद्धीच C D, १, ५ वुद्धिस्तु १, ३
 वुद्धिदो ११, १
 वुद्धीदो ११, १
 बोलार C D, १, १

भ।

भदली C D, ११, २०
 भक्खरो ११, ३ ११
 भगे ११, १५.
 भणामि १, २० २२ ११, २६ C D, ११, २६ ११,
 २७ भणामो ११, २७ C, ११, २७ भण C, ११,
 २७ [भणिया C D, ११, १४]
 भत्तार C D, १, १
 भदो ११, २८
 भमरो C D, ११, ९
 भयप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भयप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भयस्सई C D, ११, ५
 भरदो C D, ११, १२
 भलि C, १, ११^a
 भवरो C D, ११, ९
 भवारिचो C D, ११, ५
 भविथो C D, ११, ३०
 भसलो C D, ११, ९
 भातु C D, १, १
 भाति ११, २२
 भिष्यप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भिष्यप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भिष्यस्सई C D, ११, ५
 भिक्खा ११, १४ ३६
 भिज्जत ११, २५
 भुञ्ज B C D, ११, ३५
 भुञ्जप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भुञ्जप्पई C D, ११, ५
 भुञ्जस्सई C D, ११, ५
 [भुञ्जा ११, १९]
 भत्त [११, ३] B C D, ११, २७
 भै ११, २६ २७ C, ११, २७. C D, ११, २६ २७
 भेटु C D, १, १.

भोदधो ११, ३४ B, ११, ३४
 भोज्ज C D, ११, २४
 भोत्तु ११, १९ भोत्तूण ११, १९

म।

[मई C D, ११, २७^e] मा १, ३ म C D, १, २६^e
 मे (instr sg) १, २७ मए १, २७ मदत्तो १,
 २८ मे (gen sg) B C D, १, ३ C D, ११,
 १३^a मस B C D, १, ३ C D ११, ३९
 मज्झ १, [२३] ३० [११, ६] मच्च १, ३० मयि
 B C D, १, ३ मद् B, ११, ३४ C D, १, ३१^a
 मति ११, १७.
 मदरो B, ११, ३४
 मउण C D, ११, ९
 मज्जरो [११, १] B, ११, ३४
 मथो B, ११, ३४ C D, ११, ३४ मएण B, ११,
 मक्खणो C D, ११, ११^a [३४]
 मच्छरो ११, ४
 मज्झ १, २३
 मज्जरो ११, १५
 मटलं C D, ११, ११^a
 मण C D, ११, २०
 [मणिस्सा १, २१]
 मणुस्सा C D, १, २६^b [माणुस्सा १, २१]
 मतनो C D, ११, ११^a
 मत्त C D, ११, २०
 मत्ता १, १ [C D, १, १ (declined)]
 मथुर C D, ११, ११^a
 मडुवो C D, ११, ३०
 मदाल C D, ११, ३९
 मधुरा ११, ११
 मनुस्सा (nom pl) १, २१ मनुस्से (acc pl)
 मक्खवि C, १, ११^a [१, २२]
 मसान ११, २३
 मच्च (मख) ११, १
 मत्ति C, १, ११^a
 मच्चवो ११, १३
 मज्ज १, ३. मज्ज १, ३ मज्जण [१, ३] C D, १,
 ६^a मज्जि १, ३ मरुण C D, १, ५ मरुच्च
 C D, १, ५.

[मा C D, 11, 27^६]

०मा C D, 11, 20

माणदत्तो C D, 11, 20

[माण C D, 11, 27^६]

माया B C D, 11, 35

माला (nom pl) 1, 10 मालाचो 1, 10 मा-

लाउ 1, 10 मालासु 1, 3 [मालासु 1, 3]

माडल्लिगो C D, 11, 12.

मिव C D, 11, 27^१.

मुक्खो 11, 9

मुडभाते 11, 1

मुणिस 1, 13 मुणिसो (gen sg) 1, 13

मुणिसो (acc pl) 1, 12

मुणोइ C D, 11, 27^१

[मुत्त 11, 3]

०मुत्त C D, 11, 24

मुच्च 11, 22 11, [11] 13 B C D, 11, 4

०मुच्च C D, 11, 21

[मुलवणा C D, 11, 14]

मेखो C D, 11, 11^२

मेशे C D, 11, 39

मेहे 11, 13

मोरो 11, 1

मोड C D, 11, 27^१

य ।

[य (च) 11, 21 C D, 11, 14]

०यर० (कर 1 ay) C D, 1, 1

०यरा (करा maker) C D, 11, 13^२

र ।

र C D, 11, 27^२

रण B 11, 34

रक्खतु 1, 3 रक्खतु 1, 4 रक्खत B C D, 1, 3

रत्तं 11, 3

[रत्तडो C D, 11, 27^६]

रतण 11, 30

राई 11, 34

राचा C D, 11, 11^२

राणा C D, 11, 19

रिण 11, 5.

रिपु 1, 3 [रिपु 1, 3] रिपुचि 1, 3 रिक्क

B, 11, 34

रिसचो C D, 11, 5

रक्खो 11, 22.

रण C D, 11, 16

रूप 1, 13 17 ०रूपे (nom sg) 11, 10

ल ।

लक्खणो 11, 6

०लक्खसा 11, 38.

लच्छी 11, 6 36

लट्ठिचा C D, 11, 17^२

लट्ठो C D, 11, 17^२

लहद C D, 11, 27^१ लहद्विणु C D, 11, 27^१.

लहद० C D, 11, 39

०लहद० C D, 11, 24 लहद्वी C D, 11, 30,

लहद्विच (द्विपित) 1, 1

०लाजिद० C D, 11, 39

लिज्जति (लीयते) 11, 21

लोचस्स B C D, 11, 35 लार C D, 1, 5

व ।

व 11, 22 C D, 11, 27^१

[वद (वै) 11, 7]

वति (वृत्ति) B C D, 11, 10

वदरं (वैर) 11, 7

[वदर (वृत्ति) 11, 30]

वक्खो (व्याघ्र०) C D, 11, 11^२

[वक्खो (वृत्ति०) 11, 4]

[वग्गा 11, 3] ०वग्गे D, 11, 1०

वग्गो 11, 24

वक्खो 11, 4

वज्ज (वज्र) C D, 1, 1

वज्ज (वज्र) 11, 9

[वज्जरो 11, 15]

वज्जो 11, 20

वग्गा 11, 16

वट्ठकसु C D, 1, 1

वट्ठमाणो C D, 11, 16

वणराई [11, 34] B, 11, 34, वणराई B 11, 34.

वणराया B C D, 11, 35
 [०वणा C D, 11, 14]
 ०वत्तो C D, 11, 20
 वत 11, 9
 ०वदितो 11, 1 वदिन्तु 11, 19 वंदिता 11,
 19 वदिथो 11, 19 वंदवि [11, 19] C D,
 11, 19 वदेषिण C D, 11, 19
 वदमानो 11, 26
 वन्दि 11, 23
 वमणो 11, 10 वमणा 11, 12 15. वमणे (acc
 pl) 1, 15
 [वमा 11, 3]
 वम्हा 11, 3
 वम्यथो 11, 3 21
 वथ 1, 3
 ०वयणे C D, 1, 1
 वरचु 11, 37
 ०वरा C D, 11, 13^a
 वरिस 11, 30
 वलमुद C D, 11, 21
 ०वश० C D, 11, 39
 वसद्यो C D, 11, 12
 वसद्यो 11, 13 C D, 11, 5.
 वदप्यर्द C D, 11, 5
 वदप्यर्द C D, 11, 5.
 वदस्सर्द C D, 11, 5
 वदिनी C D, 11, 20
 वह्ण (वधू) 1, 3 11, 10 वह्ण 1, 9
 वाकलो B, 11, 34
 वाद्यो B, 11, 34 वाएण B, 11, 34
 वाग्नो 11, 37.
 वार 11, 7
 [वारिथा C D, 11, 27^b.]
 वाहिज्जते 11, 25
 वि [11, 6 19] D, 11, 1^c C D, 1, 1 C D,
 [०वि 11, 19] [11, 13^a
 ०विष्णुलिद० C D, 11, 39
 विचारलो C D, 11, 20
 विच्छिन्न 11, 21
 विंशुथो 11, 15

[विजणार्द C D, 11, 14]
 विज्जा 11, 16
 विज्जुणो 1, 4
 विज्जते 11, 11
 विटो C D, 11, 12 विटो C D, 11, 12.
 विदो (वद) C D, 1, 26^a
 विदं (विधु) 11, 5.
 विषयोथो B, 11, 34. विषजोथो C D, 11 34
 विन्मो 11, 9
 विन्मलो 11, 1
 विथ 11, 22 विथ C D, 11, 27¹
 विष्णं 11, 2
 विव 11, 22 C D, 11, 27¹
 विसलेसो 11, 30
 विहत्थो C D, 11, 12
 विहप्यर्द C D, 11, 5
 विहप्यर्द C D, 11, 5
 विहस्सर्द C D, 11, 5
 विह्ण C D, 11, 27^b
 ०विह्ण B C D, 11, 4
 वीलजिणे [11, 10] C D, 11, 39
 वीसा 11, 32 C D, 11, 15 B C D, 11, 4
 [वीसण 1, 6]
 वुच्छं 11, 12 वुच्छं B C D, 11, 4
 वुद्धो 11, 5 11, 26 C D, 11, 16
 वुदप्यर्द C D, 11, 5
 वुदप्यर्द C D, 11, 5
 वुदस्सर्द C D, 11, 5
 वे C D, 1, 10^a विणि C D, 1, 10^a वेदि C
 D, 1, 7 [वेदि C D, 1, 7 वेदिं C D, 1,
 7] वेदितो C D, 1, 3 वेण C D, 1, 6
 वेसु C D, 1, 3 वेसु C D, 1 3
 वेट 11, 5
 वेत्तु 11, 6
 वेदुलियो 11, 22 30.
 [०वेप्पिण 11, 19]
 वेप्पि 11 3 C D, 11, 6. B C D, 11, 4
 वेर 11, 6
 वेरिवमो D, 11, 1^c
 वेसवणो 11, 29

बो B C D 1, 3

बोसर ६ C D, 11, 17^a

बोसरामि C D, 11, 17^a

ब्य 11, 22 C D, 11, 27¹

श ।

शयल C D, 11, 39

•शिल• C D, 11, 39

•शुल• C D, 11, 39

शे 11, 39

स ।

स (nom sg) 11, 1 10 17 सा 11, 1 से
C D, 1, 26^a से (gen) 1, 17.

सउणो B, 11, 34

सउरो 11, 9

सउर C D, 11, 9

सफत 11, 15

सकारो C D, 11, 15

सक्रीसाणा 11, 1

सको 11, 5 B C D, 11, 21

सलो 11, 22

सग 11, 2 9 B C D, 11, 27

संगिपद 11 B C D, 11, 4

सगो 11, 15

सगडण C D, 11, 29^a

सच 11, 27

सज्जिज्ज 11 C D, 1, 1

सउमो 11, 26

सडो C D, 11, 11^a

सत्तवीसा [C D, 11, 14] सत्तवीस C D, 1, 1

सत्त 11, 9

सत्तो 11, 3

सदो C D, 1, 1

सदालो C D, 11, 20

सधो 11, 9 B C D, 11, 27

सध्माव 11, 3

समण C D, 11, 13^b.

समरो C D, 11, 15^a

समिद 1 } 5

सम C D, 11, 11.

सय 11, 2

[सरा C D, 11, 14]

सरिचो C D, 11, 5

सरिताण 1, 5 11, 11 सरिता 1, 5

सरिखो C D, 11, 5

सरिखो C D, 11, 5

सरिसपो 11, 30

सरिमो C D, 11, 5

सस 11, 2

सवरो C D, 11, 15^a

सवहो C D, 11, 34

सयच्छो 11, 4

सव्य• C D, 1, 5 [सव्ये (nom pl) 11, 19.]

सव्येसि C D, 11, 24

सव्यण C D, 11, 6.

ससी 11, 18

सस 11, 2 B C D, 11, 27.

•सङ्गण C D, 1, 5

सङ्गण C D, 11, 29^a

सङ्गण C D, 11, 29^a

साशर 11, 22

[सारया B C D, 11, 35]

सावो C D, 11, 34

साद्धिज्ज 11, 25 साद्धिज्जमानं A, 11, 25.

साद्धियत A, 11, 25

सि (चसि) 11, 18

सिथ [B, 11, 34] C D, 11, 34

सिधावाधो C D, 11, 30

सिधो 11, 3 11, 9

सित 11, 5

सिदेहितो 1, 8 सिद्धाण C D, 1, 5.

सिद्धा 11, 2

सिनिणो C D, 11, 15^a

सिया C D, 11, 30

सिरेण C D, 1, 6^a सिरेण 11, 11 सिराण
C D, 11, 11

सिरी C D, 11, 30

सिविणो C D, 11, 15^a

सिद्धा 1, 13

सील 1, 25 30

चीचं n, 11 m, 18 चीचो m, 29
 चुदण n, 4
 चुदर B, m, 34
 चुई B, m, 34
 चुकुचुम C D, m, 34
 चुक्ख m, 5 26
 चुज्जो n, 3 m, 9 15
 चुडो C D, m, 3
 चुणु C D, n, 26 चुषा n, 19 चुम्भर C D,
 1, 1 चुत m, 2 9 चुद C D, m, 39^a
 चुच्च C D, m, 39^a चोतच्च m, 2
 चुर° n, 21
 चुन्न B C D, m, 27
 चुवण m, 9
 चुवे (चु) C D, m, 30
 चुवे (खे) C D, m, 30
 चुव B C D, 1, 3 चुदेण C D, 1, 1.
 चुदथो 1, 24
 [चुदमं m, 30]
 चुडमं m, 30
 चुदियो m, 30 36
 चुदो 1, 1. 24 28 29 n, 18 C D, n, 26
 चुद 1, 21 C D, 1, 26^b.
 चेधच n, 6
 चेला n, 21

चेचस्स n, 22
 चोवचल n, 8.
 चोमो 1, 1
 चोलस m, 21
 [चोह n, 8]
 चोहते C D, n, 12
 चोहिहो C D, n, 20
 चोहा 1, 13
 चोचरिच D, n, 14
 च C D, 1, 26^a.
 चउ C D, 1, 26^a
 चङ्गारो D, n, 14
 चणुमत्तो C D, n, 20
 चणुमो C D, n, 20
 चत्था n, 12
 [चरिणा 1, 3]
 चवति m, 39 चोति m, 31 चोद C D, 1,
 1 C D, n, 27^e. चवेद C D, n, 24
 चमे m, 39
 चम्भो m, 9
 [चिज्जर m, 11]
 चितो n, 1
 चिरी C D, m, 30
 चेडिहो C D, 20.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA

Page 14,	line 1,	read बुद्धि	for बुद्धी
" 29,	" 6,	" वन्धि	" वन्ही
" 41,	" 8,	" तुव	" वतु
" 47,	" 1,	" बिद्धि	" बिद्ध

On page 9 in footnote (२६) insert B मनुस्सा, and on page 53, in footnote (५) insert C D prefix देवानु देवा, and in footnote (६) insert C D prefix देवे देवस्मि ॥

